

Active HIV Awareness

**A study into the meanings of sports as a medium
of HIV awareness in a South African township**



**Utrecht University
Utrecht School of Governance
Organization, Culture & Management**

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Utrecht, February 2006

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**Extensive paper written for the final year of the study 'Public Administration &
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Summary

This thesis concentrates on community development work aimed to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS. It further focuses on certain sports activities, which function as a medium to reach this goal. The local situation of the Tshepong Aids Project (TAP) in Ikageng formed the setting of the research. Ikageng is a township nearby the medium-sized town Potchefstroom in the North West province in South Africa. Within this township several non-governmental organizations (NGO) are active in the field of HIV/AIDS. Within the sub-field of HIV/AIDS awareness TAP is probably the most important NGO in Ikageng. They developed several awareness initiatives primarily aimed at reaching Ikageng's youth. One of these initiatives are TAP's sports trainings and league days in basketball and netball. Children from six primary schools from the community are able to take part in these activities.

The research was conducted between the beginning of February and the end of June 2005. Its aim was to retrieve meanings given to the sports activities from three important groups. First, of course TAP's focus group, the children that participated in the sports activities. Next to that group, parents and teachers were approached to find out what TAP's sports activities mean to them. The central research question of this thesis was as follows:

What is the meaning of sports activities, as practiced by the Tshepong Aids Project, for parents, teachers and especially for children between eight and fifteen years of age in Ikageng?

To answer this research question several qualitative methods were used, including observations, open-interviews, and participation. These methods gave me a broad view on TAP's sport practices and the opinion of the three distinct groups. To analyze the empirical material several theoretical concepts were used. In particular the concepts of community empowerment and social capital were relevant during this research. In literature it is generally accepted that sports activities have the potential to empower people, by establishing higher self-esteem and confidence, and by breaking through traditional gender relations. The development of social capital is also recognized as an important feature of sports activities. In sports people have the ability to establish stronger relationships with individuals from a similar group and new relations with people from other groups.

The meanings children, parents and teachers gave to TAP's sports activities differed among the three groups. The empirical material suggests that there are five specific aspects by which these groups describe their meanings: social protection, physical development, individual empowerment, personal amusement and performance ethic. Especially among parents, but also among teachers, the social protection aspect was very dominant in their used discourses. Teachers also focused on the aspect of individual empowerment, which highly relates to the cognitive development of children, which is their primary concern. Meanings children gave to TAP's sports activities were much more fragmented. Among this group all five aspects were mentioned, which suggests that this group expects variety within the sports activities. They should not center among one specific aspect, such as physical development. They should rather take all aspects in account to be attractive to a large group of

children and therefore create high potential for success. The different meanings among the three groups further suggest that they all should be approached in specific ways. Each has own reasons to see TAP's sports activities as an important part of a child's life. Lastly participating children should not immediately be confronted with the dangers of risk-behaviour, then a project might loose them before it even had the chance to make the children aware of these dangers. Children want excitement and fun. Those two elements, together with personal involvement in action and opportunities to establish and reaffirm friendships during games determine the success of a project that uses sports to realize its goals.

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List of Abbreviations

ABC	Abstain, be Faithful, Condomize
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ARV	Antiretroviral
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CBO	Community Based Organization
DA	Democratic Alliance
DoH	Department of Health
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
FASD	Foundation for African Sports Development
FBO	Faith Based Organization
LAC	Local Aids Council
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NP	National Party
PAAP	Presidential AIDS Advisory Panel
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
STI	Sexually transmitted infections
TAP	Tshepong Aids Project
UN	United Nations
USSASA	United School Sports Association of South Africa
UNAIDS	Jointed United Nations programme on HIV/AIDS
VOC	Dutch East India Company
WHO	World Health Organization

Acknowledgements

Sport has always been part of my personal life. In the past I practiced several sports and had a lot of fun while doing that. The actual experience of sports taught me what it can mean to people. I developed an interest for sports as a science as I studied at the Utrecht School of Governance, which counts enthusiastic lecturers with passion for sport like prof. dr. Paul Verweel, dr. Jan Boessenkool and drs. Inge Claringbould. After a few classes and minor researches on this matter, I wanted to do my final thesis on sports as well. In my own view, the meaning of sports for the Dutch society is far from known, and yet it is daily visible. For this research I preferred a society that was unknown to me, with important public issues and where sports could make a difference in search of solutions to certain problems. That is why I wanted to go to a country that was not part of the western world, where I would have to cope with the English language. Via the Foundation for African Sports Development (FASD) I then got in contact with the Tshepong Aids Project (TAP) in South Africa.

What lies in front of you is the result of a year long observing, participating, interviewing, reading, writing, scrapping and writing again. But finally this is the result. At this point I would like to thank a few people who made it possible for me to conclude my study with this thesis.

Firstly I would like to thank the people of the Tshepong Aids Project, in particular Thabiso, Brown and Ellen, for a brilliant South African experience. In addition, I also would like to thank the children, parents and teachers who were so kind to take part in the interviews. During the research I was assisted by my fellow-researcher Thomas Groenink, who was able to ask critical questions to help me further with the research. A major thank you for that. Here I also would like to thank the project advisors Tom Claassen and Jan Willem Spiering, who added relevant interventions to the project and to the research. A word of gratitude goes to dr. Jan Boessenkool, chair of FASD, the person who made it possible in the first place to conduct a research at the Tshepong Aids Project.

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Maikel Waardenburg
Utrecht, February 7th 2006

Every hour of every day I'm learning more
The more I learn, the less I know about before
The less I know, the more I want to look around
Digging deep for clues on higher ground

-UB40-

Introduction

"Of all the major challenges facing the world, none is more lethal nor more globally pervasive than the blight and trauma of HIV/AIDS." (Nelson Mandela in *The Times*, September 27th 2005)

The passage above illustrates that Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) is a pandemic that receives attention from the most important and inspiring leaders of our time. The impact of the pandemic is of such a devastating nature that no one can go around it. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is one of the biggest threats to human kind and it is the only disease with a dedicated United Nations (UN) organization - Jointed United Nations programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)-. This UN body estimates that in the best scenario there are 36.7 million people living with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS/WHO, 2005), of which 75% lives in Sub-Saharan Africa, which remains the epicentre for the pandemic. Most of the more than a quarter million HIV/AIDS infected people in this area, if not all, will have died before the year 2020. In 2005 alone 2.4 million people in this area died of HIV-related illnesses and 3.2 million people were newly infected with the virus. The devastating power of this pandemic makes it more than just a health issue.

The fact that the pandemic concerns more than just a health issue might be the reason that so many governmental institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGO), community-based organizations (CBO), faith-based organizations (FBO) and other institutions pay so much attention to the phenomenon. During the last decennium numerous initiatives sprung up to deal with the epidemic. So did the Tshepong Aids Project (TAP)¹. TAP is situated in Ikageng, a former 'black' township in Potchefstroom Municipality, in the North West Province in South Africa. TAP is an organization of volunteers, which focuses on education on HIV/AIDS, assistance for people infected with the HIV virus and treatment of people who have reached the AIDS stadium. It also takes other sexually transmitted infections (STI) and teenage pregnancy into account. Since the first of January 2003 Tshepong is recognized as an official NGO.

This research is part of a study aimed at the meaning of sports as a possible response to HIV/AIDS at local level. The research was conducted between the beginning of February and the end of June 2005 (see appendix 2 for a time line). The situation at the Tshepong Aids Project was used as a case study, where the meanings of sports were viewed from two sides. On the one side the research was aimed on the project itself. Questions like 'how is the ideology of TAP visible in their sports activities,' 'in what way do the sports activities contribute to TAP's goals' and 'what does sport mean to the members of TAP?' were taken into account in this research. On the other side the research was aimed on meanings of sports for the target groups in the community. The focus therefore was on children who take part in TAP's sports activities, their parents and teachers of participating primary schools. Here questions like 'what do sports mean to children' and 'are people of the community familiar with

¹ In this paper the Tshepong Aids Project will be referred to as Tshepong or TAP

the project's sports activities?' were explored. The latter is what this thesis is about and the gathered information is centred on the following research question:

What is the meaning of sports activities, as practiced by the Tshepong Aids Project, for parents, teachers and especially for children between eight and fifteen years of age in Ikageng?

This central research question is further outlined in chapter 2. The findings of the two paths were combined to obtain a broad view on the specific research questions. However, the path of this research was concluded first. The conclusion of this research therefore must be considered as a conclusion on the research question as presented in this document and not as a conclusion for the bigger research.

This thesis starts with the research design, outlining the central research question and its implications for the used research strategy. Special attention is paid to research paradigms, that all produce different knowledge about the world. Chapter 2 starts with an extensive analysis of the history of South Africa and its current state of affairs on topics such as politics, economy, culture and HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The chapter then continues with a description of the North West province and the location of the project. It ends with a description of the project itself. The information presented in chapter 2 must therefore be seen as context for the project this research is about. Chapter 3 is the theoretical part of this thesis. Here several concepts are introduced that help to understand the relation between HIV/AIDS, sports and community development. These are the themes that form the pillars for chapter 4. Here too, HIV/AIDS, sports and community development play a central role, but now explained by practical findings. This chapter can be seen as the most valuable part of the research to development programmes, because it provides insight on what sports mean to certain groups in a community. The concluding chapter answers the central research question and briefly repeats the most important findings of the research. The Tshepong Aids Project and other development programmes might be able to use these findings for further implementation of their ideas.

Chapter 1

Research Design

As stated in the introduction of this report, this research was part of a bigger study on the meaning of sports in the fight against HIV/AIDS. On the one hand it aimed at looking at the meaning of sports within the Tshepong Aids Project, on the other hand it aimed at studying the meaning of sports for the community of Ikageng. The latter is where this thesis focuses on, with special attention to the perceptions of the project's target group: youngsters². This chapter presents the research question and its implications for my strategy and positioning.

1.1 Central Research Question

The research tried to give insights in the meaning of sports for three specific groups of the community of Ikageng. These groups are directly or indirectly involved in TAP's sports activities. Insights hopefully will help the Tshepong Aids Project to develop further a sports structure that fits the needs of the community. The central research question is as follows:

What is the meaning of sports activities, as practiced by the Tshepong Aids Project, for parents, teachers and especially for children between eight and fifteen years of age in Ikageng?

To get a relevant answer, this research question needs to be divided into several work-questions, which will independently from each other lead to an integral answer:

- 1- How does the existing sports infrastructure (for youth) in Ikageng look like?
- 2- Which reasons do children between eight and fifteen years of age have to practice sports at TAP?
- 3- Which reasons do children between eight and fifteen years of age have not to take part in sports activities at TAP?
- 4- Are the sports activities of TAP experienced by parents, teachers and children between eight and fifteen years of age in Ikageng as a support of HIV/AIDS awareness?

² The term 'youngsters' refers to children of primary schools aged 8 to 15. TAP's members extensively used this term during the research.

1.2 Research Paradigm

Doing research on the topic of construction of meaning and sense making requires thinking about the way things in general and more specifically meanings about objects or phenomena are constructed. In this sense the following questions are vital to be able to make relevant and consistent statements: Is the world a concrete structure or do human beings actively contribute to its creation? Or, even further, is reality a projection of human imagination? For researchers and scholars this should be a central question, because it influences the whole research project. Not only does it have implications for the methods used to collect, organize and analyse empirical data, it also has its influence on the object of study and the role researchers fulfil. Do researchers have to be objective outsiders to make relevant statements or do they need to become participative insiders? These dilemmas keep the scientific world divided into several paradigms regarding ontology and human nature. These different paradigms imply different grounds for knowledge about the social world (Morgan & Smircich, 1980).

The research design used for this research was based on the views of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) about doing critical management research. They emphasize the importance of using aspects and techniques of several ontological and epistemological assumptions in order to move from abstract, general categories and efforts to generalize meaning towards an increased focus on local patterns. In other words, they argue for the use of a cross-paradigm critique using interpretative, critical and post-modern perspectives or, how others have called it (like Foucault, 1972 and Gergen, 1999), discourses. Such a cross-paradigm view hopefully avoids me to prevail my perspective. In practice this was done by using several discourses for relating to the persons involved at that point of the research. When talking with teachers, my discourse was more of a student one. When talking with youth volunteers from the project, the used discourse and acts were influenced by words and handshakes used by local youth. In conversation with the manager of the project, the used discourse was more of an advisor one. But in all these different discourses my white and western view still played a role.

In using a cross-paradigm view, individual meanings and construction of local social realities are emphasized as the core of understanding our world (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). The features of TAP and Ikageng and my unfamiliarity with the local situation implicated the use of a 'local/emergent' strategy for the origin of concepts. This means that the research was not theory driven and that concepts were developed during the study. This strategy is central in interpretative and post-modern perspectives. The interpretative nature of the meaning of sports calls for "intimacy in relation to the phenomenon under study and depth of understanding at the expense of abstraction, generalizability, and the artificial separation of theory and data" (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000: 60). In addition to the aforementioned strategy, a critical perspective was used, enabling me to go beyond existing power relations. This critical perspective challenges both the researcher and the researched "to go beyond their existing and conventional worldviews [in order] to make room for new social relations while not losing their cultural identities in the process" (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003: 36). Of course these theoretical starting points are not always directly visible in practice or even done by conscious acts. What it means is that I consciously tried to give a mirror to the project's people and the people who were directly

(youngsters) or indirectly (parents and teachers) involved. Subtle statements might have resulted in behaviour changes that challenge existing power relations. Unconsciously the participation within the project might have resulted in new ways of acting and organizing within the project.

1.3 Research Object

The Tshepong Aids Project is a rather large project with different focus areas (see paragraph 2.6) and therefore several actors that have their influence on the project. This research focussed on TAP's sports activities and especially on the perceptions of several community groups. The objects of study therefore were youngsters of Ikageng that participated in the sports activities, their parents, and teachers of six primary schools from the community. Further attention was paid to the way TAP's volunteers related to these different groups. For understanding the phenomena of sports, the construction of meaning, and community, several theoretical concepts (see chapter 3) were explored. The empirical material was analysed by using these theoretical concepts and by focussing on three analytical perspectives. These perspectives gave me a framework to organize all the gathered material and to make useful connections between empirical material and the several theoretical concepts. Sometimes these analytical perspectives are explicitly called upon, at other moments they are more implicitly interwoven with the other theoretical concepts. The perspectives are further discussed in paragraph 3.5.

1.4 Research Methods

This research paradigm has implications for the choice of research methods. Literature about research methodology broadly recognizes two different ways of conducting research: quantitative research and qualitative research. In the case of quantitative research, data collected is numerical in nature and analysed with the use of statistics. Data collected by qualitative research consists of words, narrations, pictures, icons and/or meanings (O'Leary, 2004). Due to the local character of the research and the focus on individual meanings, empirical material was collected using a qualitative triangulated methodology of observations, interviews and participation. Fieldnotes were made alongside the three used methods. Prior to conducting the interviews, several initial orientation visits (see Foster-Fishman, 1998: 517) were conducted in order to get familiarized with the organization and the community. Although it was tried to keep the influence as low as possible, a researcher's presence always has influence on local settings and persons. I was not the only white person within the project, but I sometimes felt like being seen as a white, western token among black South Africans. As stated earlier, this must have had its influence on behaviour and answers of several individuals.

1.4.1 Observations

Observation as a method was used extensively upon arrival because it "is a suitable method if you want to investigate the complex interactions between people and the actual behaviour of people in organizations in situations where the respondents do not know exactly what they do or how they do something" (Van de Velde, Jansen & Anderson, 2004: 99). At the beginning observations were done from a distance.

Attention was paid to the way things were done at the project; organization of the sports activities, incorporation of HIV/AIDS awareness in these activities and the way youngsters, parents and teachers were involved. In a second phase observations were used to reflect on statements that were made in the interviews. In this way it was possible to check whether information from interviews corresponded with actual practices on the sports grounds. In performing observations two decisions are of vital importance: the choice of the place from where to observe and the way observations are reported (Brewerton & Millward, 2001). The observation point differed each time there was training or a league day. Sometimes I sat at the side of the basketball ground where I could overlook the entire area. At other times I walked around and stopped at certain points to observe activities from close by. Observations were put on paper, stating time and place. After doing this, distinction was made between factual and interpretive descriptions to undo the observations from subjectivity as much as possible.

1.4.2 Interviews

Open interviews based on pre-selected topics were used as a major method in gathering empirical data. These topics were aimed at general information, information about sports in general, sports at the Tshepong Aids Project and sports at primary schools (see appendix 1). This helped me to answer the work-questions described earlier. The topics were selected to get to know meanings parents, teachers and youngsters give to the sports activities at TAP. While conducting interviews a researcher needs to be aware of the setting's context. The physical surrounding is merely one factor that has its influence. Openness and language sensitivity are vital aspect of reflexive research. Taken these aspects into account together with ongoing identity constructions and incorporated historical, social and political contexts, one can say that an interview is "an event characterized by highly intensive interpretation, much of it unreflective and nonconscious" (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000: 113). Stephen Toulmin emphasized this important nature of the human mind in his book *Cosmopolis* as follows:

There is no way of cutting ourselves free of our conceptual inheritance.
(Toulmin, 1990: 179).

This means that respondents' answers include values and therefore often reveal additional meanings. While analysing the empirical data this notion was taken into account. Attention was also paid to patterns, but even more to variations in answers. So not only does this study seek for general meanings about sports, it also tries to reveal silent voices.

In total, 32 individual interviews were conducted, of which 19 with children from six different primary schools. Five schools (Phaladi, Nanogang, Tshepo, Boiterelo and Lesego) are located in Ikageng and one (Potch primary/secondary) is in Mohadin (see paragraph 2.5 for further explanation about different townships in Potchefstroom). The latter school is part of the study because several children are actively involved in the sports activities at TAP. Children's age varied between eight and fifteen years of age. Thirteen interviews were conducted with seven teachers from all six primary schools and six parents or other caretakers or guardians, like a grandmother or an elder brother.

The total number of female respondents (22) was larger than the number of male respondents (10). This has to do with the fact that more girls than boys were taking part in the sports activities at Tshepong and that more female teachers were responsible for the 'sports department' of the schools. The interviews took place during daytime, which means that mothers were usually at home, while fathers were at work, or there was no father at all. The sample is shown in table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Number of respondents per target group by sex

Gender	Children	Parents	Teachers	Total
Male	6	2	2	10
Female	13	4	5	22
Total	19	6	7	32

1.4.3 Participation

Participatory work enables the researcher to become involved, get close to the local research setting and come into relation with the researched. The conceptual focus of this research was on empowerment issues and on critical consciousness and social capital (see paragraphs 3.3 and 3.4). These concepts are to a high degree ambiguous because they are locked in relations between people or groups of people and are therefore not simply observable. It is therefore vitally important to capture individuals' unique realities and understand local meanings. The interaction between researcher and stakeholder thus becomes "the vehicle for understanding, constructing, and reconstructing knowledge" (Foster-Fishman et. al., 1998: 513). Central to this kind of research, that Minkler and Wallerstein (2003) have called *community based participatory research* (CBPR), is its commitment to consciously blurring the lines between the researcher and the researched. A key principle of CBPR is the notion that research must be produced with, interpreted by, and disseminated to community members in clear, useful, and respectful language. To communicate back with the community where the data was collected requires that CBPR researchers go outside the usual academical boundaries (Chávez et. al., 2003). Minkler en Wallerstein stated the following:

Many of the complex health and social problems that have accompanied us into the twenty-first century have proved ill suited to traditional "outside expert" approaches to research and the often disappointing community interventions they have helped spawn. (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003: 3)

This is an important reason to leave the desk and become involved in the organizational processes. Participating within the project gives a researcher the possibility to see the dynamics of organizing the sports activities from up-close. It gives more insight into reasons why a certain programme is successful or unsuccessful. This research method results in a more equal relationship between researcher and research participants, which is one of the principles for user involvement in research (Beresford, 2005: 77).

The participative actions I took were organized around the implementation and evaluation of the sports activities, especially during the league days. These activities ranged from going to the schools to inform teachers about an upcoming league day, to

carrying the stereo sound system to the sports grounds before the league started. Together with two development workers from the Netherlands meetings were organized, where the league days and the performance of the volunteers were evaluated. These activities helped the researcher to be aware of recent developments within the project and to give feedback directly to the project's staff.

Using these three methods helped to find out what the meaning of sports is in Ikageng's community and to see whether the assumptions of TAP's 'Outreach Program' are correct. Results will hopefully be used as a test for the policy of TAP and as support for future developments within the project.

1.5 Public and Scientific Relevance

The research was explorative, but of course theory driven with an analysing and descriptive character. The perceptions of the youngsters and their parents and teachers about sports activities of TAP were of primary importance. These activities formed the starting point of the research, not a general theory. The added value, in a practical sense, is that certain groups are heard, who normally do not get the chance to speak. In that way the researcher is able to construct a reality view together with the people who are being studied, and theory therefore is not dominant is not influenced by theoretical assumptions or, worse, prejudices. Such a strategy, it is believed, makes research useful for local settings.

The research tried to provide insight in the way sports are used and can be used for HIV/AIDS education and empowerment programmes; it is therefore predominantly aimed at practical recommendations for organizations in the field. It focused on the views of one local community and is an attempt to gather perceptions of people on the relevance of sports activities as a way to fight HIV/AIDS. By doing so it could provide useful information for future programme design. It is hoped recommendations will be relevant to the project, and possibly also to other organizations working in the field of HIV/AIDS education and other sports programmes in South Africa, as well as in other parts of the world. NGO's, CBO's, Faith Based Organizations (FBO), Local Aids Councils (LAC) and government institutions can use the findings for desired changes and modifications to the present situation. Furthermore, I hope my views and contributions during the research helped the people of the project to increase their reflexive ability, and to ask critical questions in their personal and professional occupations.

The scope of sports experiences for youngsters and adolescents in the developing world seems to be significant, yet until the beginning of the 21st century it remained essentially undocumented. Only recently some authors started to report about the subject. Marion Keim (2003) is one of the few authors who write specifically about the subject, although she looks upon it from a perspective of social integration related to the former apartheid-era in South Africa. I believe that sports can mean more than that. This research 'on location' is a modest impulse to enlarge empirical knowledge and public awareness on HIV/AIDS. The study is hopefully a further input to community-based participatory research, particularly in development countries and in the health sector.

Catherine Campbell (2003) is one of the many researchers who mention that there is a gap between practice and theory in civil-society programmes. This makes it hard to understand the practices underlying their successes and failures and to learn lessons. It is as if the majority of the programmes play a world cup final, without having any strategy beforehand on how to win the game. As a result it is difficult to find the reasons why it went right or wrong. Campbell suggests that one of the reasons for this gap is that there is “a lack of communication between health and community development workers in real-life social settings, on the one hand, and researchers and theoreticians in universities, on the other” (2003: 47). This is not a problem specific to the field of development programmes. Sorge & Witteloostuijn (2004) identify the same problem in the field of organization studies. They argue that the legitimacy of the consultancy world would benefit from a more evidence-based approach. They suggest a dialogue between consultants and academics, whereby consultants should take the concepts and theories of the academic world into their organizational work. In this way organizations would benefit from a solid theoretical foundation. This could work in a similar way in development programmes. Such a dialogue would ultimately lead to a better distribution of development aid funds. Stronger links between development workers and researchers and theoreticians and the integration of theories into the practical world are therefore necessary.

With these ideas in mind, the thesis aims at providing combined theoretical and practical knowledge about the meaning of sports for communities and participatory programmes. The following chapter presents a further theoretical framework on this matter. I like to conclude this part with the statement of an important sports sociologist that stresses the importance of research about the meaning of sport in all kinds of communities:

[...] we need to know more about variations in sport experiences and how people from different social and cultural backgrounds give those experiences meaning and integrate them into their lives at various points in their life course. (Coakley, 2003: 122)

Chapter 2

Context of the Tshepong Aids Project

Before describing the HIV/AIDS situation in South Africa and its responses to the pandemic I will first turn towards some facts about South Africa. As is discussed later in this chapter, demographics and the social-, cultural-, economic- and political situation all have their own influence on the devastating form HIV/AIDS has taken in South Africa. This chapter starts with a description of the history of South Africa and the political struggle attached to it. The next paragraphs focus on the current situation of South Africa and the situation of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the country. The last two paragraphs give information on the local context in which the Tshepong Aids Project operates and on the project itself.

2.1 Early South Africa

The region South Africa³ belongs to is geologically speaking old, very old. A lot of fossils of ancestors of the Homo erectus were discovered in South Africa, as the earliest remains of male and female of modern men (Ross, 2001: 18). However, the earliest cultivation of the land started only several thousand years ago, by means of stockbreeding and later agriculture. South Africa was probably one of the latest large regions of the Old World where this kind of cultivations developed. Several tribes from the north settled in the area in the course of the first millennium (Ross, 2001: 20), introducing the Bantu-languages that are still spoken today. They competed for the land with the indigenous tribes, called the Khoikhoi and the San. Respect of a tribe and especially that of a sovereign was defined by the accumulation of people and cattle. Distribution of land stayed relatively in balance until the beginning of the seventeenth century when the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie; VOC) arrived.

In 1652 a small group under Jan van Riebeeck settled in Table Bay (Cape Town) and within a decade the settlement changed into a real colony (Ross, 2001: 35). This was the first moment of many in the history of South Africa that indigenous tribes had to give up land to more powerful whites. From 1680 the colony started to expand with the settlement of people who served in the VOC and the arrival of several French Protestant refugees and French Huguenots. Slaves from Indonesia, India, Madagascar, and from the East coast of Africa were also brought in. Around 1690 pioneers started to cross the mountains to colonize the interior of the Cape. At the end of the 18th century farmers from European descent owned the major part of the south-western area of South Africa. In 1795 the British conquered the Cape for the first time, but handed it back to the Dutch in 1803. In 1806 the British conquered the Cape lastly (Ross, 2001: 37-51).

³ At that time South Africa was not a country, it is more appropriate to speak of the subcontinent South Africa.

In the 1830s descendants of the Dutch immigrants started to move north- and eastwards because they did not want to be under British rule. In South African history this has become known as the ‘Great Trek’ and the people taking part in this migration are called ‘Voortrekkers’. After long wanderings and several bloody encounters with the African tribes, the Ndebele and the Zulus, the Voortrekkers eventually established the independent republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1854 (Ross, 2001: 67).

After half a century of political pressure of the British, mostly because of the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Transvaal region, Transvaal together with Orange Free State finally chose for war in 1899. This war is known as the Anglo-Boer⁴ War. On May 31st 1902, peace came with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging. In this treaty the Boer republics acknowledged British sovereignty, while the British in turn committed themselves to reconstruction of the areas under their control (Ross, 2001: 96). The British focused their attention on rebuilding the country, in particular the mining industry. On May 31st 1910 the Union of South Africa came into being, bringing the English colonists and the Boers together in a self-governing dominion of the British Empire; it therefore had attained the status of nationhood from the United Kingdom (Ross, 2001: 102).

2.2 Political Struggle in South Africa

The unity of the British and the Boer colonies can be seen as the starting point for official political segregation of blacks and whites. From that moment on blacks were denied more and more political and economic rights leading up to the institutionalisation of apartheid in 1948 as a result of the election victory of the National Party (NP). What had been more or less ‘de facto’ was to become relentlessly ‘de jure’. Legislation was passed prohibiting mixed marriages (Prohibition of mixed Marriages Act, 1949), making interracial sex illegal (Immorality Act, 1950) and classifying every individual by race (Population Registration Act, 1950), which resulted in tragic cases where members of the same family were classified differently. The notorious Group Areas Act of 1950 was the foundation of residential apartheid, still visible today. It set aside desirable city properties for whites, while banishing non-whites into marginalized areas (Ross, 2001). These areas have become known as townships⁵. These developments pushed the then relatively conservative African National Congress (ANC) into action. At its conference in December 1948 the ‘Programme of Action’ was approved, which called for the pursuit of political rights through the use of boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non-cooperation (Mandela, 1995: 127-132). Together with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), ANC struggled for the rights of black South Africans in the next decades to come.

⁴ Boer (farmer) is the name for Voortrekkers after they settled in the areas of Transvaal and Orange Free State.

⁵ It has been said the word township originates from placing together the two words that describe the phenomenon in the best possible way: town and ship, or in other words an area where people live that can be replaced whenever officials deem necessary.

In 1960, in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre, the South African government banned ANC and PAC. The Sharpeville Masacre is the name given to an incident during a demonstration against the requirements for blacks to carry identity cards held in Sharpeville on March 21st 1960 (Ross, 2001: 158-160). A crowd of several thousands surrounded the local police station, where a police force of about seventy-five policemen opened fire on the demonstrators, killing sixty-nine and injuring one hundred and eighty-six individuals. In the first week after the incident more demonstrations were held throughout the country and rioting broke out in many areas (Mandela, 1995: 280-2).

Following a referendum in 1960, in which whites voted in favour of a republic, the Union changed itself into the Republic of South Africa on May 31st 1961 and left the Commonwealth who endorsed its apartheid policies as unjust and racist (Ross, 2001: 170). On August 7th 1963 the United Nations (UN) Security Council established a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa (en.wikipedia.org). While these developments started to isolate South Africa internationally, the apartheid regime had succeeded to put most important freedom fighters in prison at Robben Island in 1964 - among them Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and the most famous of them all Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

The next decade can be seen as a period of relatively calm resistance and the NP was able to continue its policies. During the 1970s resistance again gained force with the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), under the leadership of Steve Biko. This movement stressed the need for psychological liberation, black pride, and non-violent opposition to apartheid (Ross, 2001: 172-173). In 1974 the government forced all secondary schools that half of all classes must be taught in Afrikaans. Following this rule fifteen thousand schoolchildren gathered in Soweto on June 16th 1976. This demonstration turned violent, resulting in 566 children who died at the hands of the police. The events of that day triggered widespread violence throughout South Africa, which claimed further lives. Young people across South Africa were suddenly fired with the spirit of protest and rebellion (Mandela, 1995: 575-8).

Following the Soweto uprising in 1976, and its brutal suppression by the apartheid regime, the UN arms embargo was made mandatory by the UN Security Council on November 4th 1977 and South Africa became even more increasingly isolated internationally (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). The 1980s were one of the roughest times in the history of the struggle against apartheid. Although most important freedom fighters of South Africa were still in prison at that point in time, the struggle itself did not get to an end. More and more it developed into a guerrilla war against those in power. International sanctions bit deeper than ever before and black mass action destabilized the economy. Due to these internal and external pressures things started to change at the end of the eighties in favour of the black population.

In the early 1990s South Africa entered a period of extreme transition, political, but also sociological, economical and international. By 1990 the government took the first step towards negotiating itself out of power when it lifted the ban on the ANC and other left-wing political organizations. On 11th of February 1990, President F. W. de Klerk released Nelson Mandela who had been imprisoned for 27 years. While the ANC and the NP in the persons of respectively Mandela and De Klerk were talking about transition from apartheid to democracy, apartheid legislation was gradually

dismantled. The first multi-racial elections were held from 26th to 29th April 1994. The ANC won the elections with 62.6 percent of the votes. Two years later the official post-apartheid Constitution of South Africa was adopted in Sharpeville, signed by Nelson Mandela, who became president in 1994 (Keim, 2003: 43-44).

2.3 Present-day South Africa

South Africa is an interesting country, and not only because of its recent turbulent history. It has a variety of landscapes, including wine lands, wild reserves, semi-desert, metropolis, deserted rural areas, mountains and beautiful beaches. It counts 46.8 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2005: 9) from numerous different cultural backgrounds. Situated in the southern hemisphere at the southern tip of the African continent, South Africa borders the countries of Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and totally surrounds the kingdom of Lesotho (see Map 2.1). The country covers over 1.2 million square kilometres, stretching nearly 2000 kilometres from the Limpopo River in the north to Cape Agulhas in the south and nearly 1500 kilometres from east to west. The country has three major geographical parts: the vast interior plateau (highveld: area around Johannesburg and Pretoria and stretching from Messina to Ladysmith); the narrow coastal plain (lowveld: stretching from Cape Town to Durban) and the dry semi-desert (Kalahari Basin: stretching from the border of Namibia to Kimberley and south of De Aar).

Map 2.1 South Africa



Source: derived from <http://en.wikipedia.org>

One of the most fascinating aspects of South Africa is that it is home to so many different ethnic groups and cultures; from the ancient native 'black' tribes to the Jewish, European and Indian immigrants who have added to the nation's cultural kaleidoscope. At the beginning of the twentieth century, with the Union of South Africa, population was divided into four major groups: Africans, Asians, coloureds and whites. Generally speaking, in South Africa the bulk of the population is formed by black African people with an average total of about 76.7 percent, except in the

Western Cape and Northern Cape, where coloureds form the majority of its population (State of the Environment Report 2002). Africans do not form a group that is culturally or linguistically homogenous. Very few of the original inhabitants of South Africa, the San and the Khoikhoi, are still there today. Bantu-speaking tribes, such as Basotho, Tswana, Ndebele, Swazi, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu, form the vast majority of the black population. Some of these groups are unique to South Africa. The 'white' population descends largely from colonial immigrants, such as the Dutch, French Huguenots and the British. The number of people who immigrated over the last century, mainly European, is also part of this group. The label 'coloured' is a debatable, but still largely used one for people of mixed race descended from slaves brought in from the East and central Africa, political prisoners and exiles from the Dutch East Indies and the indigenous Khoisan. During apartheid a sense of community developed among coloureds as a result of whites' refusal to accept them as equals and their own refusal to be grouped socially with blacks. The major part of the Asian population of the country comes from India. Many of them descend from indentured workers brought in the 19th century to work on sugar plantations in the eastern coastal area. One important Indian was Mahatma Gandhi, who lived in South Africa from 1893 to 1914 (<http://en.wikipedia.org>).

The mix of indigenous inhabitants, coloureds, Afrikaners and European and Asian immigrants is the main reason for South Africa's eleven official languages that all have the same status. However, there is a public debate if English should have a higher status (*lingua franca*) for practical reasons.

2.3.1 Present-day Government & Politics

South Africa is a country in transition moving from an authoritarian, centralized state to a democratic and less centralized state. Habib and Padayachee (2000: 245) indicate that "political transition enables new social groups to enter the political arena; in so doing they create the possibility for significant changes." This has been the case in South Africa since the dismantling of apartheid. The mentality and mindsets of South Africans has undergone a major shift, with regard to their relation to government (Weck, 2003). From a system aimed at exclusion, the new government shifted to a system aimed at inclusion. This is a transition that has not yet been completed. Though political transition is still in process, the country is one of few in Africa never to have had a *coup d'état*, and regular free and fair elections have been held since 1994, making it a regional power and among the most stable and liberal democracies in Africa.

South Africa has two houses of Parliament, the National Council of Provinces (or upper house) with 100 members, and a National Assembly (or lower house) with 400 members. Members of the lower house are elected on a population basis by proportional representation: half of the members are elected from national lists and half are elected from provincial lists. In the National Council of Provinces ten members are elected to represent each province, regardless of the population of the province, plus there are ten more from the South African Local Government Association, representing the six metropolitan districts of Johannesburg, Pretoria, East Rand, Cape Town, Nelson Mandela Metropolis and Durban. Elections for both chambers are held every five years. The government is formed in the lower house, and the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly is the president; currently mister Thabo Mbeki, leader of the ANC. A South African president has more in

common with a Westminster-style prime minister than a US president, although as head of state the South African president does have some executive powers denied most prime ministers.

Current South African politics is dominated by the ANC, who received 69.7 percent of the votes during the 2004 general elections. The main challenger to the ANC's rule is the Democratic Alliance party (DA), which received only 12.4 percent of the votes (see Table 2.1). The New National Party (NNP) is the new name for the former National Party that introduced the system of apartheid. Due to disappointing electing polls since 1994, the party finally voted to disband on April 9th 2005 (*Cape Times*, April 12th 2005).

Table 2.1 South Africa general elections 2004

Party	Votes	Percentage	Seats
African National Congress (ANC)	10.878.251	69,7	279
Democratic Alliance (DA)	1.931.201	12,4	50
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1.088.664	7,0	28
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	355.717	2,3	9
Independent Democrats (ID)	269.765	1,7	7
New National Party (NNP)	257.824	1,7	7
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	250.272	1,6	7
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	139.465	0,89	4
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	117.792	0,75	3
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	113.512	0,73	3
Minority Front (MF)	55.267	0,35	2
Azania People's Organization (AZAPO)	41.776	0,27	1
Others	113.161	0,72	0
Total	15.612.667	100,0	400

Source: <http://www.elections.org.za>

In 1994, with the end of apartheid, the administrative system of provinces and semi-independent Bantustans⁶ had to be revised, resulting in nine new provinces: Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, Northern Cape and North West. The North West province will be discussed in detail in paragraph 1.5. Each province has its own premier and has legislative and executive authority in its own sphere, but they are bound to the national constitution.

The parliament is registered in Cape Town and is the administrative capital; Pretoria is the legislative capital and Bloemfontein is the judicial capital. Though no official government institution is registered in Johannesburg, this city has been the largest, richest and most important city in the country from the moment it was established.

⁶ Bantustan refers to any of the territories designated as tribal "homelands" for black South Africans during the apartheid era.

2.3.2 Economy of South Africa

South Africa is by far the richest country of the continent; the economy is the largest and most developed of the entire African continent. The abundant supply of minerals makes the mining industry the most important industry of the country. Mineral wealth has been the key to development since the discovery of diamonds and gold at the end of the 19th century. Nowadays this industry accounts for some 40% of the total export of the country, with South Africa being the world's largest producer and exporter of gold and platinum. Road infrastructure is very sophisticated in urban areas and several national highways connect all the major cities in South Africa. Rural areas remain connected by dirt roads. The country has several large airports and harbours (mainly Durban and Cape Town), and a railroad system that is connected to every major city. These transportation systems support an efficient distribution of goods to major urban centres throughout the region. The gross domestic product (GDP) positions the country as one of the twenty-five wealthiest in the world (<http://www.cia.gov>). In many respects South Africa could be described as a developed country. However, the exclusionary nature of apartheid and distortions caused in part by the country's international isolation until the 1990s have left major weaknesses. Huge disparities in income, standards of living (half of the population lives below the poverty line⁷) and work opportunities between population groups and a dual economy⁸ designate South Africa as a development country. There is no clarity about the official unemployment rate, but estimations fluctuate between 29% and 41%, where the latter is more realistic for the actual situation in the townships.

Other than the huge income disparity between population groups, there are also enormous differences between urban and rural areas. Whereas urban areas are packed with people from all income classes, rural areas are sparsely populated. People living in these rural areas are not easily accessible because of poor infrastructure, while people in the urban areas are easily reached due to highly developed road networks. Indigenous cultures and languages are still very much alive in rural areas where traditional life has not changed much; this in comparison to life in townships, where status is achieved not by descent, but by success in career and, for youth, brand clothes. In that sense the townships have typical characteristics of a Western society.

Because South African cities are highly developed, they attract many migrants. These poor (black) rural people, who mainly stay unemployed, move to the townships surrounding the cities for housing. More people mean more housing problems and more sanitation problems. Townships are therefore a melting pot of people from different cultures, where diseases, crime, corruption and social problems develop fast. Opposite people living in townships, there is the upper-class, predominantly whites, who lives in good neighbourhoods, has the better jobs, and has large houses with good sanitation. And although apartheid is history, discrimination is still openly present. This way one sees that South Africa is a country with an enormous wealth disparity and with low social cohesion among the different population groups.

Economic problems remain from the apartheid era, resulting in an enormous dichotomy. Poverty for the majority of disadvantaged groups and related problems,

⁷ This information is derived from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sf.html> and accounts for the year 2000.

⁸ Here 'dual economy' points to the existence of, for example traditional agricultural systems next to a modern system (plantation) geared to the global export market.

like crime and corruption on the one hand, and economic growth, expanding transport networks, migration and cross-border trade on the other hand “are all characteristics of a risk environment” (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 122), especially for HIV/AIDS, which is discussed in paragraph 1.4. So there is two sides to everything, which becomes above all visible in South African economy.

2.3.3 Socio-cultural features of South Africa

While it may be argued that there is no single culture in South Africa because of its ethnic diversity, most South Africans of all races and backgrounds are united by a sincere desire to see to it that the horrors and injustices of apartheid are never again repeated. Today, the ethnic diversity is visible in all sorts of aspects of social life, like food, music and dance. The eleven official languages emphasize this ethnic diversity in a formal way. Many indigenous languages remain uninfluenced by European settlement and survived the apartheid era, when Afrikaans was the official language and compulsory at schools and universities.

The country's black majority still has a substantial number of rural inhabitants who live in extreme poverty. It is among these people, however, that traditional dance and music survive; as blacks have become increasingly urbanized and westernized, aspects of traditional culture have declined. Life in South Africa for the under-class, especially for people living in the townships is hard. Urban vagabonds and street children are widely present and crime and violence rates are enormous in the townships. It is stated that every twenty seconds a woman is raped in certain urban areas in South Africa (Campbell, 2003: 13).

The high living standard for the minority of South Africans has resulted in the development of some modern instruments in South African society. Radio-, television-, internet and telephone networks are highly developed and accessible throughout the country. Due to these accessible networks, South Africa has the most sophisticated media network in Africa. Since 1994 the large, free and active press regularly challenges the government. Major scandals have erupted when the press reported charges of corruption that were proven to be true in cases such as that of Schabir Shaik, in which deputy president Jacob Zuma was implicated, leading to his dismissal in June 2005 (*The Star*, June 18th 2005). The government's stance on AIDS has also attracted plenty of media coverage (see paragraph 2.4.2).

2.4 The HIV/AIDS Pandemic in South Africa

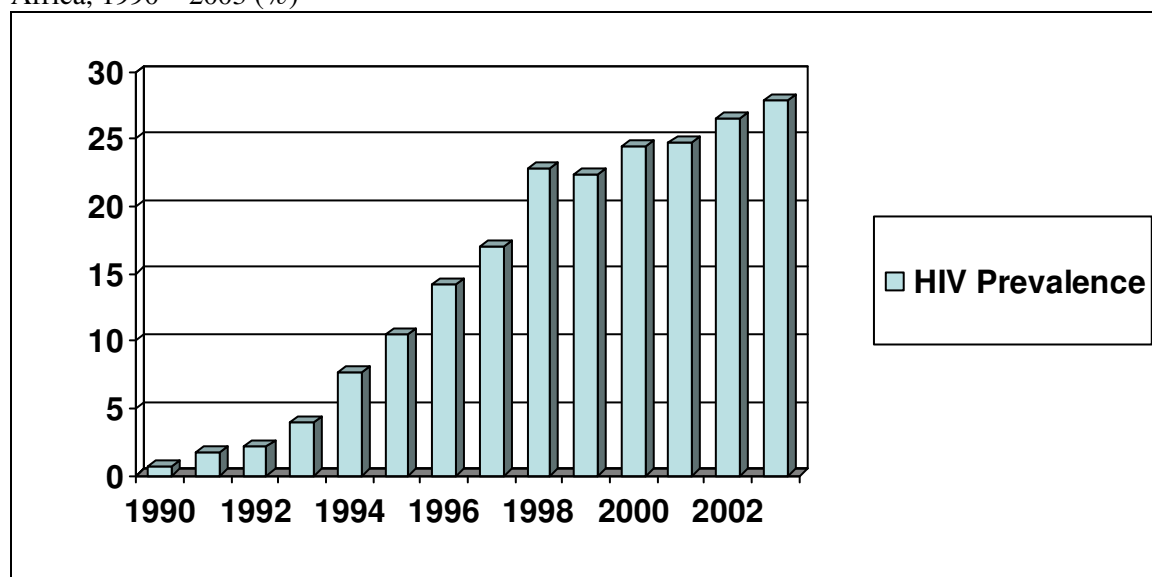
The HIV/AIDS pandemic is one of the biggest threats to human kind. It is the only disease with a dedicated United Nations (UN) organization –UNAIDS, created in 1993-. This UN body estimates that there are between 36,7 and 45,3 million people living with HIV/AIDS, of which 75% lives in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS/WHO, 2005). Most of the 30 million HIV/AIDS infected people in this area, if not all, will die before the year 2020, in case the lack of response continues. Therefore, the devastating power of this pandemic is more than just a health issue.

In 2000 the UN formulated eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), emanated from the Millennium Declaration (UN, 2000). The MDGs bind countries to do more and join forces in the fight against poverty, illiteracy, hunger, lack of education,

gender inequality, disease and other problematic issues. One of these MDGs is especially focused on the HIV/AIDS pandemic; it states that by the year 2015 the spread of HIV/AIDS needs to be halted and reduced. The goal also calls for reducing the spread of malaria and tuberculosis. Not surprisingly, all these diseases are located in the world's most impoverished countries. Especially in Sub-Saharan Africa the HIV-pandemic has an enormous impact on everyday life. In the last fifteen years life expectancy in this region dropped from 52 to 47, mostly because of the HIV/AIDS crisis. Children born today in several southern African countries have life expectancies below 40 years. And although only rough estimations can be made about the number of HIV and AIDS cases, it can be said that South Africa is the country with the highest absolute number of people living with HIV and AIDS in the world; in 2004 an estimated 6,2 million (DoH, 2005).

In 1982 the first cases of HIV in South Africa were reported among white homosexuals and the spread of HIV and AIDS remained within this group throughout the 1980s (Weck, 2003: 20). The 1990's saw an explosion of the HIV prevalence rate that has not reached its limit yet (see Table 2.2). The HIV prevalence rate in 2003 was 27.9%. This is extremely high compared to other African countries like Angola, with a percentage of 3.9% and Burkina Faso 4.2%⁹ (<http://www.unaids.org>). Compared to other sub-Saharan countries South Africa's prevalence rate is on an average, for instance Swaziland has an HIV-prevalence rate of 38.8% and Namibia 21.3%. The annual HIV deaths rate in South Africa is now higher than the annual non-HIV deaths rate (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 17), resulting in an estimated population growth rate of -0.31% in 2005¹⁰.

Table 2.2 HIV prevalence among antenatal care attendees aged 15 – 49 in South Africa, 1990 – 2003 (%)



Source: Department of Health, 2004

⁹ HIV prevalence rates among antenatal care attendees aged 15-49 in 2003

¹⁰ Derived from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sf.html>

The pandemic also has its economic impact. The total costs of AIDS-related care to the South African government were a rough US\$188 million in 2000. Recent studies predict the epidemic could cost South Africa as much as 17% in GDP growth by 2010 (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 300). The mining industries, education and health are among the sectors that will be severely affected, because the productive core of society is the most affected by the pandemic.

2.4.1 HIV Determinants in South Africa

Although direct reasons for HIV and AIDS are unsafe sex, blood contact, use of infected needles and mother-to-child transmission, research results point out several indirect social, cultural, economic, political and demographic factors that also explain high percentages of HIV infections (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002; Campbell, 2003; Kelly, 1995; Trickett, 2002).

In a historical context it can be stated that HIV/AIDS directly replaced the threats of apartheid policies for marginalized population groups. But foundations for the devastating form the HIV/AIDS epidemic has taken in the country were laid in the apartheid era. Whites had privileged rights and the other three population groups, especially blacks were denied all kind of opportunities. Due to the Group Areas Act blacks had to live in designated areas near cities, now known as townships, and in rural areas. These townships were and still are densely populated and many inhabitants are illiterate and unemployed. The forced moves and the artificial construction of homelands contributed to the “breakdown of traditional cultural structures and livelihoods” (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 153).

One opportunity oppressed people had, was working in the mines, which had a relatively high status among these people (Ross, 2001: 74). This meant a migration from people who lived in rural areas to the mines. These mineworkers lived in single-sex hostels and law prevented mineworkers from bringing their families to town. These all-male mining sites together with few job opportunities resulted in a thriving female commercial sex industry (Campbell, 2003: 63). A study conducted in the mining community of Carletonville in 1997 shows that more than 50% of the woman said they were commercial sex workers (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 155). This created a culture where mineworkers had a wife at home and a ‘girlfriend’ at work (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 151). Furthermore, health services were limited and more often than not poor people chose not to be tested or treated. One can imagine that such a work environment and related culture will not help to stop the HIV epidemic. The sex workers had a huge change of getting infected and transmitting the disease to the mineworkers. After being infected, these people went home fuelling the spread of HIV all around the country.

The breakdown of traditional cultures, the existence of densely populated areas, the low living standards and migration, in part due to apartheid, have led to the present HIV/AIDS situation. Other economical characteristics also have their influence on the current state of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa. A World Bank study showed that high urban rates of HIV infection among adults were associated with low national income and unequal distribution of income (World Bank, 1997). Because of the crowded urban areas an expanding transport system, cross-border trade and population mobility South Africa is seen as the crucible for HIV transmission in the sub-Saharan region (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 153). People from the surrounding

countries (illegally) migrate to South African cities to seek a job. Most migrants work and live under miserable conditions that encourage sexual mixing (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002: 153) and therefore, they have a high degree of susceptibility. Infected migrants return to their home countries where they start 'local' epidemics.

Besides this migration determinant there is a mobility determinant. Truckers from exporting companies stop during their long journeys at places next to the national highways, where, again, sex workers try to make money. A reasonable question then is why these sex workers do not use a condom. This has to do with their clients' reluctance to use condoms. Catherine Campbell states in this respect:

Clients almost always refused to use them, however, saying that they preferred 'flesh-to-flesh' sex for their pleasure and their health. [...] If a woman got too insistent about condom use, the man would take his business elsewhere. (Campbell, 2003: 71)

Here it becomes visible that not only poverty plays a role in spreading the HIV virus, but social pressure as well. They are therefore two other major determinants in the current state of HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

It was not the study's intention to fully explain why HIV/AIDS has taken such a devastating form in South Africa. The determinants mentioned above are widely accepted and extensively researched explanations (see for example Barnett & Whiteside, 2002; Kelly, 1995; Webb, 1997) for the form the pandemic has taken in South Africa and give a broad view how the HIV/AIDS pandemic evolves so quickly.

2.4.2 Government's Response to HIV/AIDS

Different actors, such as health workers, religious leaders and the international society, have criticized the South African government's response to HIV/AIDS in the past decade. Recently Stephen Lewis, since 2001 the UN special envoy for AIDS in Africa, slammed the government "for a 'lackadaisical' approach to Aids treatment" (*The Star*, October 26th 2005). Lewis points at incidents where influential members of the electorate publicly raised questions about HIV/AIDS issues. For instance, the president Thabo Mbeki who in April 2000 publicly stated that HIV is not the cause of AIDS; Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang questioned in 2004 the safety of a drug used to prevent mother-to-child HIV transmission. These statements provoked much protest nationally as internationally.

This all led to a bigger debate on HIV/AIDS called the 'dissident-orthodox' debate. In short, the orthodox view represents the dominant (western oriented) medical approach, in which HIV is seen as a transmittable virus that finally causes AIDS. Antiretroviral (ARV) and other medicines are seen as useful drugs to treat, but not cure, AIDS. The dissidents are questioning this causal link between HIV and AIDS, and are actually denying the existence of AIDS (Weck, 2003: 30). In 2000 president Thabo Mbeki organized a specialist panel consisting of both dissident and orthodox oriented members, to give more clarity and answers to issues raised by the debate. This panel, called the Presidential AIDS Advisory Panel (PAAP), published an extensive report in 2001. The members only came to an agreement on two issues: HIV/AIDS statistics were unreliable and no one consented upon a clear-cut definition of AIDS.

To the South African society these public statements are confusing and do not contribute to the creation of a coherent, clear perception or policy on HIV/AIDS. However, some developments in the last three years suggest that the government is choosing for clarity on the subject. On April 17th 2002 the *Statement of the Cabinet on HIV/AIDS* was released, stating that research was needed to provide solid evidence to guide government's policy on treating AIDS-related illnesses, using antiretroviral drugs and effective support and prevention programs. Furthermore, ARVs have now become moderately available. Many initiatives to provide antiretroviral therapy to persons living with HIV without access to medical insurance have started in South Africa. Health care workers in the public sector and NGOs and CBOs have been largely responsible for these developments. In contradiction to the Department of Health, these grassroots organizations have the power and the capacity to reach local communities.

The dangers of HIV and AIDS in South Africa, apart from the health related issues, affect almost all sectors of society: governance, economy, education, communities and indigenous cultures. The pandemic undermines the national capacity to generate wealth because the productive core of society is the most affected by it. AIDS slows down economic growth and increases inequalities as breadwinners die and leave orphans and other vulnerable people behind. Children often bear the impact of the burden as they suffer the marginalisation of poverty before they are even allowed to participate in mainstream political, economic and social processes. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is a long-wave event; unusual levels of illness and death will profoundly affect the lives of many individuals, families, communities, companies and societies for decades to come.

2.5 The Local Community of Ikageng

Socio-economic and demographic intelligence of Ikageng and Potchefstroom as a whole, needed as background information for the rest of this paper, disagreed on too many points to be of good use. However, the socio-economic and demographic data of the North West province is rather similar to that of Potchefstroom. Therefore, a compendious description of this provincial information is made, under the premise that this provides the necessary tools to understand the situation of Potchefstroom.

2.5.1 The North West Province

North West borders Botswana and covers about ten percent of the country's total surface area (see map 2.2). Whereas 53.7% of the total population of South Africa live in urban areas, the majority of North West lives in rural areas (65.1%). The situation is changing though, due to the fact that people are starting to migrate to the major cities, mainly caused by the weakened agricultural sector and the vast rural rates of unemployment. In addition, other factors such as decreasing metal prices leading to the diminishment of the mining industry are making conditions even worse (State of the Environment Report 2002).

Map 2.2 North West



Source: derived from <http://www.wheretostay.co.za/nw/index.php>

According to the 'Midyear population estimates 2005', the North West province inhabited a total of more than 3.8 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2005), of which 91.2% are African (most of them being Tswana), 6.6% are whites (most of them being Afrikaner), 1.4% are coloureds, 0.3% are Indians, and the remaining 0.5% are from other groups.

The modest economy of the province consists mainly of the aforementioned agricultural activities and the mining industry. Based on a labour force survey report conducted between September 2000 and March 2005, the official estimated rate of unemployment in this region has been rather steady over the past few years, for the moment nestling at 28.8%. This percentage is quite similar to the national unemployment rate of 26.5%, although this average level has been showing signs of improvement having dropped 4.7% since March 2003 (Statistics South Africa 2005). The lowest unemployment levels are found in the Afrikaner communities and the highest in the black African communities, 5.1% and 31.2% respectively.

The North West Province's standard of living and medium income are among the lowest in all South Africa. According to the PROVIDE Project (2005), about 52% of its population was living below the poverty line. It is no surprise that poverty and unemployment are common factors in municipal areas, especially in townships, but research has shown that African and coloured agricultural households are generally worse off than their non-agricultural counterparts (PROVIDE Project, 2005).

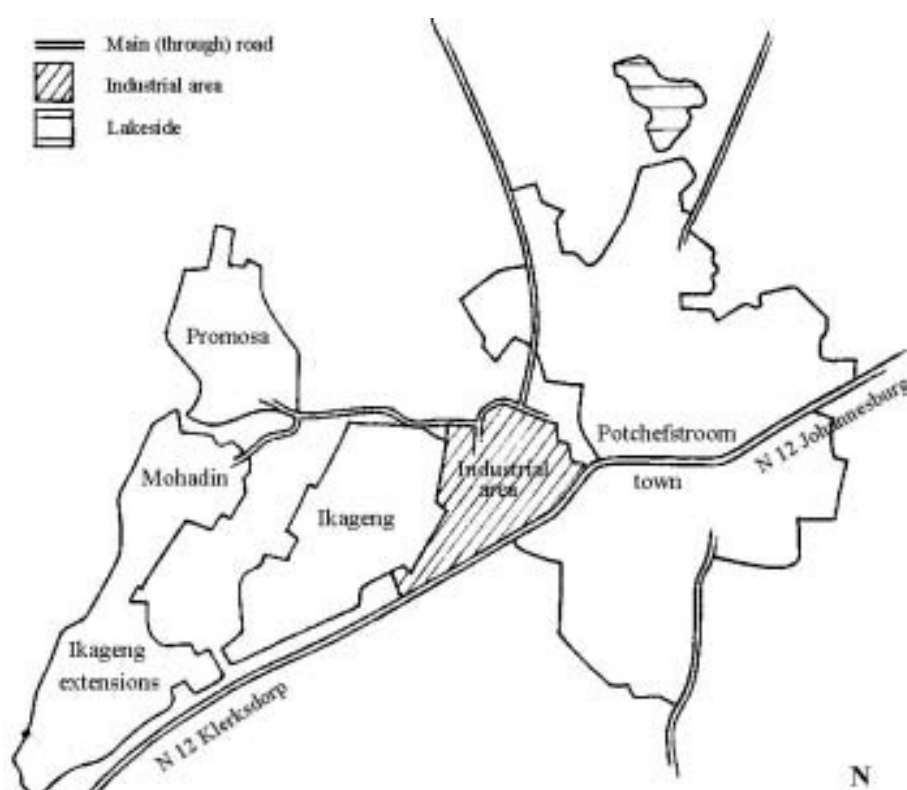
2.5.2 Potchefstroom Municipal Area

The North West province is divided into four regions, called the Rustenburg Eastern Region (also known as the Bojanala Region), the Bophirima Region (also known as the Western Region), the Central Region, and the Southern Region. Potchefstroom, also known as *Klokwe* in Setswana, is a medium-sized town situated in the Southern Region of the North West Province. According to South African executive expression, this town is a 'Category C' municipality, meaning that it has the power to execute

laws and policy, and the authority to make or enact laws that includes more than just one municipality. Therefore, a distinction must be made between the municipality Potchefstroom and the district Potchefstroom, including other local authorities and communities in the greater Potchefstroom region.

The Potchefstroom municipal area consists of Potchefstroom town and three townships called Ikageng, Mohadin and Promosa (see map 2.3). The district region of Potchefstroom does not only include the municipality Potchefstroom, but also adjacent towns and rural areas such as Fochville and Parys, and parts of other regions like Vredefort and Venterskroon. This distinction between the municipality and the district

Map 2.3 Potchefstroom Municipal Area



Source: derived from Potchefstroom Local Municipality map 2005)

Potchefstroom was introduced after the elections in 1994, along with the reestablishment of the provinces and the reinstatement of local government in South Africa. The investigations for this paper were performed in Ikageng in the municipal area of Potchefstroom, and from this point onwards, for future reference, the name Potchefstroom relates to this municipal area unless otherwise indicated.

An assessment of the Potchefstroom population in 2001 showed that the region is inhabited by 165.700 residents (Weck, 2003). Most of these residents are black Africans, mainly from Tswana decent. After this black group, the white community forms the second largest group in numbers, third is the coloured community and

finally there is a small group of people from Indian descent.¹¹ The white residents are predominantly Afrikaners, and in comparison with other villages and cities in the Southern Region, or the rest of the North West Province for that matter, Potchefstroom has one of the highest numbers of white or Afrikaner residents. Accordingly, the two most commonly spoken languages in the Potchefstroom area are Afrikaans and Setswana, whereas English is prevalently utilised as the administrative language.

About fifty years ago, when apartheid was still at full thrust, several segregated areas emerged near Potchefstroom town, like everywhere else in South Africa, in order to separate the whites from the other various race groups. In the Potchefstroom municipal area, Potchefstroom town itself was the neighbourhood for white people reside, Mohadin was destined for the Indian community, the coloured people were placed in Promosa, and the black Africans were located in Ikageng. The name Ikageng translates into Afrikaans as 'die plek waar ons self bou', meaning 'the place where we built ourselves'. Because the whites named this township it comes across rather cynical, yet nowadays inhabitants of Ikageng itself freely translate the township's name as 'building together', giving a much more constructive and positive ring to it.

However, after the official nullification of apartheid and the first democratic election in 1994, the spatial distinction based on racial differences is still unmistakably visible in present-day Potchefstroom. The black African community, as well as the coloureds and the Indians, are slowly moving to town, but Potchefstroom town continues to be a principally white neighbourhood, whereas African people inhabit Ikageng, along with its enviroing extensions. According to assessments made in 2001, Potchefstroom's population amounted up to 165.700 dwellers, of which almost two thirds resided in Ikageng and only one percent in Mohadin (see table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Population of Potchefstroom Municipal Area, 2001

Areas	Population	Percentage
Ikageng	108.000	65 %
Potchefstroom town	45.000	27 %
Promosa	11.500	7 %
Mohadin	1.200	1 %
Total	165.700	100 %

Source: Weck, 2003

The most advantaged areas of the Potchefstroom municipal region are Potchefstroom town and Mohadin. Without any doubt, the most underprivileged are Ikageng, the neighbouring extensions and squatter camps, where a high degree of poverty and unemployment, accompanied with poor housing and infrastructure, are part of everyday struggles. Yet, besides these differences within Potchefstroom, there are also differences within Ikageng and its enviroing extensions. Whereas in the older parts

¹¹ The racial partitioning of 'blacks', 'whites', 'coloureds' and 'Indians' is a result from the apartheid era, but various population groups and theorists still use the distinction in everyday discourse.

of Ikageng the houses are made of brick and electricity and water is available, houses in other areas of Ikageng are constructed with corrugated iron and other cheap materials.

2.5.3 Potchefstroom and HIV/AIDS

Comparable with the attempt to outline the socio-economic and demographic intelligence of this region, supplying information about the HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in the Potchefstroom district or municipal area provides a problem. Though, a study of the South African Department of Health measured an HIV prevalence rate of 29.9% for the North West Province in 2003, compared to the national average of 27.9% (DoH, 2004). Within the province the Southern Region has the highest prevalence rate: 33.5% (Weck, 2003). Furthermore, it can be stated that the prevalence rate in urban areas is higher than in rural areas (Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 2003).

Apart from finding the most recent HIV prevalence rates of Potchefstroom, retrieving statistics on how many people have died due to Aids related diseases proves difficult. In accord with the Department of Health of Potchefstroom, the number of the people deceased between 1999 and 2000 in the Potchefstroom municipality because of Aids was 137, of which 120 were Ikageng residents. Throughout that same period, 2.275 individuals were tested for HIV/AIDS at several facilities open to all people, and reputedly 536 of them were tested positive on the disease. It is most likely, however, that these numbers belittle the actual amount of deceased and infected people during that length of time. One reason for this statement is that there are no accessible statistics from the private health care sector, and a second, probably even more important reason is that HIV/AIDS still remains to be a non-notifiable disease, which subsequently brings about a lack of records kept on people who have been treated in public as well as private health care facilities (Weck, 2003). Furthermore, this also implies that Aids is not mentioned as the cause of death on the document certifying the demise, and more often than not it is unknown whether that person was HIV/AIDS infected, because many people rebuff getting tested.

However, a change in attitude has set in as the Department of Health by the end of 2002 has firmly declared that the Aids related causes of death in the Potchefstroom district, of which a significant percentage are young people, are unmatched (*Potchefstroom Herald*, November 29th 2005).

There are several possible determinants for the HIV/AIDS situation on Potchefstroom. Probably the most important one being the N12 highway that goes right through Potchefstroom (see maps 2.2 and 2.3). This highway is an important transportation route that leads through the country all the way from Cape Town in the southwestern corner to Mozambique in the northeast. The highway attracts sex workers that fuel the spread of HIV in the region. The military base in Potchefstroom and mines in the surrounding districts (most notably Klerksdorp) add a cumulative force to this situation. Poverty and bad sanitation in the townships also contribute to the HIV levels of HIV/AIDS in Potchefstroom.

2.5.4 HIV/AIDS Related Organizations

However, support is close by with a considerably number of actors and stakeholders in Potchefstroom, which put time and effort in all HIV/AIDS related issues. These departments and organisations are found in all areas of the Potchefstroom municipality. The centre of attention is usually not identical, whereas some organisations are primarily involved with the prevention of HIV/AIDS, and others focus mainly on drugs and alcohol abuse, making HIV/AIDS an additional or inferior item next to their initial agenda. However, most of the HIV/AIDS activities include awareness, prevention, support, and home based care (HBC). For this reason, the various stakeholders have been assembled to unite and adjust their activities to one another. The most important and most visible of these organizations are discussed below.

Local Aids Council

In the beginning of the year 2000 the South African national government established a concept of local Aids councils in an effort to get a grasp on the HIV/AIDS epidemic. At national, provincial and local level AIDS councils were instated to guide the implementation of HIV/AIDS policy in the country. In the case of the Local Aids Council (LAC) this meant performing an important role in coordinating and realizing of HIV/AIDS policy at local level. For example, the LAC determines whether the Tshepong Aids Project will get (additional) funding based on her reports and records.

However, the LAC is not a policymaking organisation in itself. The members of the council, who are the representatives of various organisations and departments, are the ones who have to implement the HIV/AIDS programmes. The LAC representatives in Potchefstroom come from thirteen different societal sectors, including private medical practitioners and hospitals, business, media, traditional healers, people living with HIV or AIDS, and also nongovernmental and community based organisations (Weck, 2003). Therefore the LAC should not be considered an organisation as such, but rather an organising entity making an effort to advise and discuss the HIV/AIDS policy and to put that into action. In that sense, the LAC is more like a construction of different policy stakeholders engaged in HIV/AIDS affairs, and this construction allows the participants to come to together and adjust their activities if needs be.

Department of Health

HIV/AIDS is the responsibility of all departments and divisions in society, although the Department of Health continues to be the most leading establishment regarding HIV/AIDS related issues. Like the LAC, the DoH is divided into a national, provincial and local echelon, in which most programmes and activities concerning HIV/AIDS are located. Since 1990 the DoH conducts annually a national HIV antenatal sero-prevalence survey among pregnant woman, providing important information on HIV trends. Khomanani, a sector of the Department of Health that makes pamphlets, posters and other educational items, supplies local NGOs, FBOs, CBOs, schools and other organizations with the requested material. The Department of Health also funds some of these organizations.

loveLife

One of the most important organizations for the Tshepong Aids Project is loveLife, as TAP is a franchise of this organization. Launched in September 1999, this organization is a combined initiative between government, NGOs and academic

institutions. LoveLife is a lifestyle brand for young South Africans promoting healthy living and positive sexuality. She aims to substantially reduce the HIV infection rate in South Africans and to establish a new model for effective HIV prevention among young people at the same time. LoveLife looks to achieve this by stressing three key elements: Firstly, the organisation holds innovative nationwide media campaigns, including television and radio programming. Outdoor media such as billboards further encourage open discussions about HIV/Aids, sexual responsibility and healthy living. Secondly, loveLife services and supports projects, which work as community based organisations known as loveLife franchise-holders. This franchise initiative, instigated in 2001, is used to spread the loveLife message by using the existing infrastructure in the community. Within some of these franchises loveLife is setting up youth centres, called “Y-Centres”. These multi-purpose centres are set up to provide sexual health education and clinical services, including voluntary counselling and testing for HIV and other STIs. Estimations show that on national level approximately three thousand young people visit this youth-friendly environment weekly. By December 2004, 126 local organisations in South Africa had franchised with loveLife and sixteen of them had been equipped with a Y-Centre (loveLife, 2004).

LoveLife takes the clear-cut approach in dealing with the underlying factors that stimulate the spread of HIV, teenage pregnancy, and STIs, including society’s reluctance to address youth sexuality, the impact of peer pressure and poverty. But peers play an important role in reversing this mode, according to loveLife strategy. As of 2004, more than seven hundred young people have gone through a series of training programmes to equip them with sexual health counselling skills and techniques for effective outreach to other young people. These fulltime peer educators called groundBREAKERS work together with the mpintshis (meaning friend in Zulu), on the outreach programme in all loveLife initiatives throughout South Africa. The third and final key component loveLife has implemented is monitoring and evaluating the impact and the results of their programmes. This helps to ensure that loveLife keeps on course and is able to revise their work on the prevention of HIV and other STIs from time to time.

2.6 The Tshepong Aids Project

2.6.1 History of the Tshepong Aids Project

In June 1999 a few people from the community of Ikageng decided that it was time to start an organisation that would be able to help the community in their constant struggle against the spread of HIV/AIDS. The office of the Tshepong Aids Project (TAP), Tshepong meaning ‘hope’ in Setswana, was placed in a section of the Potchefstroom Hospital. Much to their own disappointment, the people working at TAP soon discovered that they could not do their job properly. In this setting they were not able to help the infected in the community of Ikageng, because the township is situated a couple of kilometres from Potchefstroom. This made it complicated for the project to deliver care to people in need, and people in the community of Ikageng encountered a lot of difficulty coming to the hospital, because of either their physical incapability, or lack of funds for transport.

Taking this into consideration TAP moved to Ikageng, where it was given a small office in the Boiki Thlapi Clinic by the local government in 2000. The work became a lot easier for the people labouring for TAP's volunteers and people were now able to come by foot to do the inquiries they wanted or needed. TAP became more visible in the community. People started talking about the activities the organisation developed and began to recognise the need to commence discussion about the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). However, at the end of the year 2003 the use of the clinic came to an end when the Boiki Thlapi Clinic changed into a local hospital and claimed the office borrowed to TAP. Early 2004 TAP moved for the second time, this time to an office adjacent to the Govan Mbeki Hall, next to the football stadium and other sports facilities right in the centre of Ikageng.

2.6.2 Objectives of the Tshepong Aids Project

There are basically five ways in which TAP fights the spread of HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections and teenage pregnancy: awareness, education, information, motivation and activation. These are all goals in itself, but they are also linked with each other. People can be activated to be more aware of their well-being and surroundings, and they can be motivated to talk to already infected individuals to get a better idea of the disease and what it is like to have to live with it.

Awareness

One of the ways TAP wants to tackle HIV/AIDS in the Ikageng community is to increase people's awareness about this killer disease. Tshepong wants to make people aware of HIV/AIDS and believe in their own life and future. The importance of stressing awareness in this sense is twofold. Firstly, making people aware will hopefully reduce the number of individuals who are already infected and it will trim down the pace in which the disease is now spreading. TAP concentrates mostly on making youngsters conscious of the stretch HIV/AIDS has already got, but basically everybody is welcome at the project. Besides aiming to reduce the number of infected individuals, Tshepong also wants to increase certain awareness with the ones whom are already infected with the virus. These individuals are discouraged and have lost their faith in themselves and in their future. The project tries to stimulate these infected individuals not to give up on themselves and the community: when they realise that they still have the opportunity to live a good and rewarding life and they could prove to be very helpful in rebuilding the community.

Motivation

The aforementioned is where motivation comes in. Tshepong aims to motivate the people in the community to have a positive mindset. It doesn't matter if an individual is infected or not, they need to make the most of their lives. The people, who have been contaminated with the killer disease, usually need to work hard at getting their life back together again and they need help with that, but they can also help create a better future for others. The message is that it is necessary for everybody to stay positive. TAP is keen on involving infected individuals in helping out at the project. This way the infected have the opportunity to tell their story to others, enhancing the knowledge of their community, and motivating people that they shouldn't make the same mistake they made.

Education

Another way TAP uses to actively fight the reach of the HIV/Aids infection, other sexually transmitted infections and increasing teenage pregnancy is education. Tshepong means to get people of the streets and enlighten them and the rest of the community about HIV/Aids, health and sexuality. The project wants to empower the knowledge of the people in order for them to realise their potential. The volunteers running the Tshepong Aids Project think that it is their job to educate as many people in the community as they possibly can and they feel the necessity to continue stressing the importance of fighting this killer disease.

Information

Closely related to the abovementioned educational component is the spreading of information. TAP believes that they need to give all kinds of information to Ikageng's inhabitants. This intelligence doesn't just concern diseases, but it's also about the changes in the civic compound of the community, so that people aren't confronted with these things unprepared. One of the things that has to be dealt with according to TAP, is the ever growing population of the Ikageng community, that makes the township more crowded by the day. The project needs to make sure that the people in the community have access to these kinds of intelligence.

Apart from spreading information concerning the community's population, Tshepong also has the ability to counsel people about other things like food, healthcare, training, and medication, for example antiretroviral. The latter works out to be important, because some contaminated people take their medication irregularly or they use a wrong dosage. However, due to restrictions and regulations TAP is not allowed to spread ARV in the community at this moment in time.

Activation

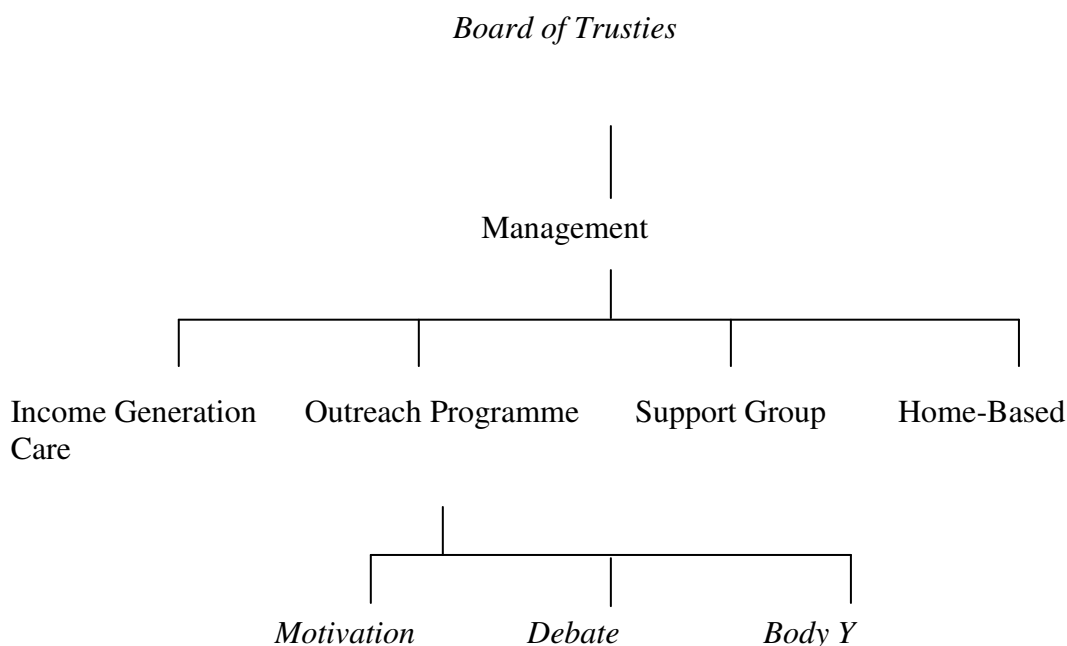
The last goal that Tshepong has set is that people should be activated. Keeping yourself physically active also pays a huge contribution to your well-being. People need to keep their mind and body active so that they stay healthy. Moreover, when someone is busy playing sports or is otherwise engaged in an activity that is linked with a healthy attitude, it will be less likely that the same person will be tempted to start using *dagga* or alcohol. Furthermore, activating the community is useful in the battle against HIV/AIDS, and not just the healthy individuals of the population. Infected individuals should be triggered to come and help out at the project to try and take part in stopping sexually transmitted diseases and sexually transmitted infections. They can put their knowledge about their disease to good use for the rest of the community.

2.6.3 Organization of the Tshepong Aids Project

However, to set goals for an organisation is one thing, to make it happen is another. In order to achieve the aforementioned, Tshepong has formed a structure that mirrors the strategy, which is exposed in figure 2.1. Admittedly, this outline is a sketch, because of all the organograms of the organisation that have been made before, none of them is exactly the same as another. Besides that irregularity, it should be noted that the number of volunteers running the project can change overnight. People come and go as they please, because they are not working based on a contract of any kind. The volunteers, the very foundation of the Tshepong Aids Project, all live in the neighbourhood of the project, usually even within the Ikageng community. Practically

all of them are unemployed. Some of them receive pay for their work at Tshepong, but most of them go home empty-handed. The volunteers help out in different units at a time, so it is very difficult to say how many volunteers are active in a singular unit. Yet at the time of research it was estimated that there were 60 volunteers active for TAP.

Figure 2.1 Organogram of the Tshepong Aids Project, May 2005



TAP focuses on education on HIV/AIDS, assistance for people infected with the HIV virus and treatment of people who have reached the AIDS stadium. It also takes other sexually transmitted infections (STI) and teenage pregnancy into account. The Tshepong Aids Project uses in its policy an integral way of working, based on the principal of 'prevention is better than cure'. The main focus of the project is therefore aimed on behavioral change by children and youngsters in Ikageng. This is mostly visible in the 'Outreach Program'. Within this program, which has been adopted from loveLife, there are a number of three fully developed projects: 'Body Y', 'Motivation' and 'Debate'. The sports activities are part of the 'Body Y' project and are altogether called 'Sports & Recreation' (see figure 2.1).

2.6.4 Related Organizations

The organisations mentioned in paragraph 2.5.4 play a large role in the everyday hustle and bustle of TAP, but there are also quite a few other organisation involved in TAP's activities. These enterprises sometimes give the project a financial spike, like ACTION for South Africa (ACTSA). Others help out with specific knowledge on certain subjects, like the University of Potchefstroom has information and statistics on the community, and Ragoga helps facilitate and capacitate 'Home-Based Care' by giving the volunteers training about health issues and confidential issues. Some organisations are affiliated with TAP, because their goals touch. One of these establishments is Teenagers Against Drug Abuse (TADA). This organisation also

struggles with peer pressure and people getting HIV/AIDS infected. Through exchanging experiences these organisations facilitate each other.

Some actors have more than one role in their involvement with the Tshepong Aids Project. The input of the Foundation for African Sports Development (FASD) in the beginning of this year was threefold, bringing along clothes for the youngsters to wear during sports activities, giving a financial incentive and supporting the organisation by sending two experts from abroad to fuel the sport development of Tshepong. Such involvement is very much welcomed by the project.

2.7 The Next Step

This chapter functioned to make the context of the organization visible. It hopefully has become clear that HIV/AIDS is not a disease on itself. There are so many historical, societal, economical, political, and environmental factors that can have their influence on the epidemic, that it is almost impossible to implement one specific solution that is applicable to a whole country. Therefore the focus of this research was on a relatively new initiative in one specific South African township. NGOs become more and more aware of the potentials of sports and play in the fight against the killer disease. Some organizations have their own initiative and implement it only in the community they are located in, like the Tshepong Aids Project. Others have a certain strategy that they implement on a wider scale to influence several local situations, like the organization 'Kicking Aids Out' does. In this thesis I do not take a moral position on what is the better option. It primarily tries to make visible the influence of sports activities on HIV awareness. It therefore compares passive versus active forms of awareness that TAP uses to reach its goals. This might result in a better understanding of the way active forms of awareness, such as sports activities where people are actively involved, influence risk-taking behaviour. To further understand this process the next chapter provides theoretical insights on the matter of HIV awareness, meanings of sports, and their impact on marginalized communities.

Chapter 3

Conceptualising HIV/AIDS, Sports & the Community

This research focused on the combination of sports and HIV/AIDS education. Sports are often used to reach an other goal, such as physical condition, confidence, creating team spirit and integration. Sports can also be used for education about HIV/AIDS or behavioural changes. As a person I am convinced that sports can have a positive contribution to every society and that it can provide solutions for a whole lot of different social problems. In this chapter I explore theoretical concepts behind this assumption. First, implications of HIV/AIDS are explored on the basis of Catherine Campbell's extensive study on a specific HIV/AIDS prevention programme. It pays attention to the field of tension between the bio-medical and the socio-psychological approach for HIV/AIDS infected and affected persons. The next paragraph provides theoretical insights on sports as social phenomena. It focuses on the question how sports are connected to our social world. In the last two paragraphs theoretical concepts are introduced that are the basis for the construction of meaning and that are specifically relevant to marginalized communities. At the end of this chapter these concepts are made operational through the perspectives of Joanne Martin on organizational culture. These perspectives are useful for analysing the empirical material, because the research focussed on individual meanings about sports within distinctive groups relevant for one specific organization.

3.1 Infected and Affected Persons as Actors

The book *'Letting Them Die'* by Catherine Campbell (2003) provided an important theoretical framework for this research. It gives an answer to the question how and why positive and global approaches and participation can lead to improvement of sexual healthiness. Campbell thus pleads for the addition of socio-psychological to biomedical approaches in HIV/AIDS interventions. She also stresses the possibilities of local participation as a method to changing the context that shapes sexual behaviour. To Campbell it is this context in which the HIV pandemic can evolve. She stresses that people often knowingly engage in sexual behaviour that is a risk for their personal health. Even "with full knowledge of the dangers of the epidemic, many people continue to have unprotected sex, often with multiple partners" (Campbell, 2003: 7). It can be assumed that the social context plays a key role in the creation of possibilities for health decreasing behavioural change, particularly in marginalized communities where people have less control over their own life. Preferring basic needs and survival is understandable; HIV and AIDS are often experienced as a less drastic problem for a marginalized community than shortage of money, unemployment, violent crime and drugs in the neighbourhood, or a shortage of child centres. Within a context of severe hopelessness and few reasons for optimism about better times and personal development, it can become very hard for an individual to act on standard risk reducing recommendations (Campbell, 2003; Kelly, 1995).

These rather alternative 'choices' make clear that every person is the architect of his or her own live. Here we speak of the integrated person, having the capacity to

emerge into reality, to make choices and to transform that reality (Freire, 2003: 4). So the world and all its institutions are not fixed as an independent and unchanging reality. People produce part of the environment they face. Laws create rules that seem to be an unchangeable reality. However, powerful men create laws and they therefore shape a new environment that did not exist before. Thus, people act to create their own situations and institutions; they are not simply passive responders (Frey & Eitzen, 1991; Weick, 1995). Although every individual has the potential to enact his own context, marginalized people often feel constrained and determined by 'the environment', which they as a matter of fact construct themselves. Yet these people experience this environment as a place constructed by an impersonal 'they' who are simply people who are more active or powerful (Weick, 1995: 31). 'The environment' does not exist, for reality is not fixed and individuals perceive it differently. It should therefore be noted that marginalized people have the right on a positive approach of their situation. In the case of HIV/AIDS one should not stress the negative characteristics of the disease, rather one should emphasize those aspects that may help people to improve their situation (Campbell, 2003); like the fact that an infected person can live a normal, active and productive life for several more years. This view on the construction of and integration with one's reality closely relates to the concept of critical consciousness, which will be discussed in paragraph 3.3.

3.2 Sports as Social Phenomena

Before I will turn to some interrelated complex and ambiguous concepts as *social capital* and *empowerment*, which are related to the meaning of sports in communities, first the the definition of *sports* has to be cracked down. Going through sports literature, one might notice that definitions vary, but authors almost always use the same aspects of physical, competitive and institutionalised activities (see for example Giulianotti, 2005; Wheaton, 2000). It might be important to define sports to distinguish them from other activities. By doing so, however, we may overlook some activities that can be seen as sports by certain societies or cultures. Alvesson and Deetz signalled this weakness of a definition by defining the term 'leadership':

A coherent definition with universal aspirations may tell us relatively little in terms of the richness and complexity of the quite varied phenomena it supposedly refers to. (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000: 53)

For example, focusing on institutionalised competitive activities, we forget about a whole lot of people who do not have the resources to formally organize a sports activity, but do (in their eyes) practice sports. One example that is particularly relevant to South Africa is indigenous games. To certain groups these activities are just games, to others they are real sports, with their own rules, demanding extensive training and with a clear winner and loser, such as the game *thinti*. In this game two sides compete against each other and have to defend the target, which is a stick in the ground. The goal of this game is for each team to hurl sticks at the opposing target and knock it down (Mandela, 1995: 12).

Clearly, a definition of sports is not the right tool to get a comprehensive picture of what it means, therefore sports are too much culturally, politically and economically determined. Sport sociologist Jay Coakley makes clear that a definition of sports always "reflects the structure and organization of relationships and social life in a

particular society at a particular point in time” (Coakley, 2003: 25). He recommends an alternative way for looking at sports and determining what it is. When doing research in the field of sports Coakley suggests to ask the following two questions: (1) what activities are identified as sports by people in a particular group or society and (2) how do people determine what is identified as a sport? (Coakley, 2003: 24-25). These questions lead one to the social and cultural contexts in which ideas about physical activities are formed. Using this critical theory provides a framework how to look at sports as social phenomena. This is necessary, for sports are more than just a reflection of society, they are socially constructed arenas (Long et. al., 2005; Verweel & De Ruijter, 2000) where developmental and emergent features are of essential significance. In the previous paragraph it was stated that people are subjects of their own lives; they act to create their own institutions. This also counts for the field of sports; sports are “created by people interacting, using their skills and interests to make [sports] into something that meets their interests and needs” (Frey & Eitzen, 1991).

Sports cannot be conceptually detached from the wider social domain (Elias, in Giulianotti, 2005: 139). Let us start with the basis of social life, the family. Research has shown that sport participation is related to, among other factors, the influence of significant others, like parents and siblings (Coakley, 2003: 100). In Western society it is quite normal for parents to say: ‘my child needs to participate in at least one sport.’ If parents play a certain sport, there is a realistic change for their children to become involved in that same sport. Teachers can also be seen as significant others. In many countries in the world sports are connected to education. Primary and secondary schools and universities often have sports facilities at their disposal. The general thought behind the incorporation of sports into the educational system is that ‘sports keep the mind active.’ In South Africa sports and education come together in the United School Sports Association of South Africa (USSASA), which exists since 1991. Every year this organization organizes the USSASA Games in several types of sports for primary, secondary and university teams.

Other spheres of social life that sports are connected to include the economy and politics. The economy of sports is now dominated by major international corporations, mostly to expand their markets and maximize profits (Giulianotti, 2005: xii). Brands like Nike, Cannon, and JVC are indisputably connected with sports throughout the world. Some sports would not even exist without the presence of sponsorships, like the Formula One. The other side of the coin is that some sports or sportsmen become extremely popular because of transcontinental corporations. Michael Jordan, probably world’s most famous sports player in modern history, became even more popular because of the shoes ‘Nike Air Jordan’. Sports stadiums throughout the world are increasingly named after an important financier of such a stadium. The famous Highbury stadium of the soccer club Arsenal in London will be replaced for a new and bigger stadium called the Emirates Stadium, named after an Arabic airline company (*De Volkskrant*, December 7th 2005).

The investment of large companies in popular sports has everything to do with the development of an extensive media network that focuses on sports. Both print media (e.g. newspapers, magazines, books) and electronic media (e.g. radio, television, film, games) intensify and extend the process and consequences of commercialisation (Coakley, 2003: 413). Broadcast rights tend to grow out of proportion. In the United

States NBC had to pay 894 million dollars for the broadcast rights of the Summer Olympics of 2008 in Beijing, compared to 25 million for the Summer Games of 1976 in Montreal (Coakley, 2003: 415). Large countries, including South Africa, have several commercial TV stations that broadcast sports 24/7. For commercial TV channels this might be profitable, public channels cannot pay such amounts for broadcast rights or schedule their station to only broadcast sports. They cannot politically justify such a decision.

Politics does not only have its influence in the media, during every major sport event you can see the influence of politics around you. Policemen are the most significant example. Violence, unfortunately, is part of sports on and off the field. These days professional European soccer is harassed by hooliganism. Due to this still growing problem the organization of a professional soccer match is highly regulated by local and national government. In the Netherlands a mayor is by national law allowed to cancel scheduled matches that have a high risk potential for problems with vying fans.

Politics nowadays are also connected to sports in a more positive sense. Politicians use sports more and more as a vehicle to reach certain policy goals, such as improving public health and integration of culturally heterogeneous groups. This last issue has been and still is an important one in South Africa as well. The country still feels the consequences of apartheid; South African society is “more fragmented than other conflict-ridden societies: in categories of skin colour, ideologies, classes, languages, religions, history, values...” (Von Lucius, 1994 in: Keim, 2003: 209). Despite South Africa’s efforts to make sports more equitable over the last ten years, sports are still extremely racially divided. In cricket and rugby quotas have been introduced to guarantee black representation in national teams. Resources remain however unequally divided, and sports resources are best at private schools. Children from poor families living in townships and attending public schools therefore have fewer opportunities in equal development of their sports talents. This inequity however, does not mean that non-whites do not take part in sports. USSASA organizes school and university competitions for several sports that in principal include all South African schools. Talented students have the possibility to be scouted during these competitions, to represent their province in a national student competition.

Sports are commonly viewed as vehicles to achieve both internal stability and external status. This has been argued by Giulianotti:

“Sport certainly enables Africans to articulate senses of nationhood and cultural pride on the global stage.” (Giulianotti, 2005: 69)

Rugby matches between South Africa and Australia are famous for the rivalry between the two countries. Winning from Australia in this particular sport boosts self-esteem and pride among Afrikaners. Among Africans soccer serves as a way to enhance self-esteem. Black South Africans see players as Benny McCarthy and Steven Pienaar, who play professional soccer in Europe as icons. And the assignment of the FIFA World Cup soccer 2010 to South Africa was greeted with enormous joy all around the country, even within the Afrikaner community. Apart from rugby and cricket for white males and soccer for black males, there is another popular sport in South Africa; netball. This sport is the most popular school-based sport among schoolgirls of all racial and class backgrounds (Pelak, 2005: 58). These are signs that

certain events in sports have the power to break through firmly rooted prejudices and bring different groups of people together. The extensive study of Marion Keim (2003) shows that multicultural sports programmes in South Africa are one of the factors that facilitate integration, because they can help to reduce prejudice and build mutual acceptance, tolerance and understanding. These same positive consequences are highly important in the case of HIV/AIDS awareness as well. Therefore sports receive increasing attention from the government, NGOs and other institutions as a tool for fostering social integration in post-apartheid South Africa and for the case of HIV awareness.

Using sports as a medium to reach children and youngsters for HIV/AIDS education stands not on itself. Sports have a powerful impact on the physical and psychological health and reduce the chance of a large number of infections. But it is the extrinsic value of sports that make them such an effective tool for development aid. Sports can be seen as a site for integration bringing individuals and communities together in a fun and participatory way, bridging cultural and ethnical differences. Sports can also be seen as an alternative school in which children learn basic values and life skills, like cooperation, tolerance, leadership and how to win and lose. Sports can be used to deal with traumatic situations that children have gone through. And sports give people the possibility to be seen and get rewarded. In other words, people practice sports for different purposes and therefore attach different meanings to their experiences. Sports literature (Van Rossum, 1996; Coakley, 2003; Anthonissen & Dortants, 2005; Giulianotti, 2005) has led me to the conclusion that sports consist of several distinguishable aspects that are connected to the meaning of sports. The most common is the physical aspect, in which the dominant meaning attached to sports is the improvement of the physical healthiness. Performance and amusement are two other aspects of sports that are highly visible in commercial sports. These aspects also count in the lives of amateur athletes; they too can participate in matches where performance is a central theme or where amusement is the main reason to participate in sports. The enrichment aspect of sports is already mentioned above, this aspect focuses on the possibility to learn different life skills while participating in sports activities. A final aspect of sports is that they are sites that have positive connotations; especially in marginalized communities sports form a distraction from everyday reality. These sports aspects are useful to filter different meanings that are particular meaningful to certain groups or individuals. They will therefore be used in the analyses of the empirical data.

Many sports programmes have the ability to form an effective tool to mobilize the community to support health activities, like HIV/AIDS education and awareness. The last couple of years sports have gained more and more attention in the fight against the pandemic. A report of the United Nations (UN, 2003) about sports as a tool for development and peace stated:

[...] all aspects of civil society, including sport, must be mobilized in the global fight against HIV/AIDS.

In that specific report the UN focus on the integrative nature of sports. They make statements as: “By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship” or “sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides.” But we cannot ignore other

features of sports. It should be acknowledged that sports simultaneously encompass some of the worst human behaviours, including violence, discrimination, hooliganism, excessive nationalism, cheating, and drug abuse. The existence of a development organization called 'Right To Play'¹² shows us that not everyone is able to play sports in the way they wish to or to play sports at all. In the same way as sports can be inclusive they can also foster exclusion and segregation (Coakley, 2003; Elling & Claringbould, 2004; Elling & De Knop, 1998). What about the discriminative noises we hear in the European soccer stadiums when a black player touches the ball? Or what about the fat child that is laughed at when playing sports with his or her classmates? And what must we think of the segregation of spectators by social class in stadiums throughout the world? It has been some time now since exclusion from sports on the ground of race was *de jure* in South Africa. But other forms of exclusion persist through the daily operation of 'normal' sports interactions (Long et. al., 2005: 42). According to Verweel (2004) government and other sports institutions need to recognize and include these paradox meanings of sports in their policies if they do not want to be disappointed.

3.3 Empowerment & Critical Consciousness

There is no other activity than sport that so paradoxically combines serious matters (HIV/AIDS pandemic) with frivolous time passing. The assumptions behind TAP's choice to use sports activities as a medium to reach youngsters for HIV/AIDS education fits in the paradigm drift that has occurred the last decennium in the fight against HIV/AIDS.¹³ In the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s most attention was paid to individual interventions, developed by narrow psychological theories, from the mid-nineties this changed towards a more participating approach aimed on 'community empowerment'. *Empowerment* refers to increasing political, social or economic strength of individuals or groups and the "strengthening of people's awareness of their own capabilities" (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003: 4). In that sense empowerment is an active, participatory process through which individuals, organizations and communities gain greater control, efficacy and social justice (Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004).

The principles of empowerment have reached the HIV/AIDS-prevention arena primarily via the disciplines of 'public health' and 'community psychology' (Becker et al., 1998; Campbell, 2003; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003). These disciplines used empowerment to shape health-enhancing behaviour change. This work started with the assumption that "disempowered people, who have little control over important aspects of their lives, are less likely to feel that they can take control of their health" (Campbell, 2003: 49). This means that powerlessness severely undermines the health of people in chronically marginalized or demanding situations.

¹² 'Right To Play' is an athlete-driven international humanitarian organization that uses sport and play as a tool for the development of children and youth in the most disadvantaged areas of the world. (www.righttoplay.com)

¹³ This drift has occurred the last ten years in the field of HIV/AIDS prevention programs, but in the literature and the science about the matter it only started to change in the late nineties.

Within the concept of empowerment one can distinguish several forms. Psychological empowerment implies that people can be empowered as individuals. The focus here is on individual characteristics, such as motivation and skill and on changing behaviours, such as getting vaccinated or the use of condoms. Miller et. al. (1998) formulated several hypotheses about the way biophysical, psychological and social processes may link sports participation and the decreased risk of pregnancy among adolescent girls. One of their hypotheses is that elevated self-esteem derived from participation in sports may influence girls' sexual decision making and enhance their ability to negotiate use of contraceptives. One of the outcomes of the research was that female athletes report significantly lower rates of sexual activity than female non-athletes. It seems that sports have the power to empower people psychologically. This form of empowerment sounds promising; however, without real political and economic empowerment it is worthless. Real changes in the access that people have to symbolic power and economic power are necessary (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002); otherwise participatory programmes aimed on community empowerment are unlikely to succeed. For example, when the apartheid regime of South Africa fell in 1994 the 'white' community was still holding the best positions in the country, including most of the fertile agricultural land of the country. Except from a change of political system other changes were necessary to give the 'black' community a fair change to develop themselves. The new government promised the black community that a part of the agricultural land held by whites would be turned over to them, to come to a situation of more equity. This measure made it possible for some black farmers to get hold of fertile land and to start cultivate this land themselves. With this form of political empowerment nowadays some members of the 'black' community have better changes on equal development in South Africa.¹⁴

While economic and political empowerment creates chances for a community, it is psychological empowerment that makes people aware of these chances. In other words; any form of empowerment is useless without existence of one of the other two. Psychological empowerment makes it possible for individuals to take control over their own destiny. As Coakley puts it:

[...] true empowerment involves enabling people to be critically informed actors, so that they can effectively "challenge and change unequal power relationships" (2003: 56).

This cognitive or intellectual dimension of empowerment, focusing on people's intellectual analysis of their circumstances and the way in which social conditions have fostered situations of disadvantage, was first introduced in 1970 by Paulo Freire (1970/1993) with his account on *critical consciousness*. He argues that the development of critical consciousness is a vital precondition for positive behaviour change by marginalized social groups.

Critical consciousness lets people emerge in reality instead of adapt to reality. Freire describes the characterization of adapted persons as "semi-intransitivity of consciousness". According to Freire their interest centres almost totally around survival and their "sphere of perception is limited" (2003: 17). People who are trying to get out of this adapted status are, in Freire's notion, in a state of 'intransitive

¹⁴ The example is taken from an article called 'Zuid-Afrika neemt Afrikaner zijn land af' in the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* from September 24th 2005.

thought', which is the first of a series of stages in the development of critical consciousness. This stage is characterized by people's lack of insight into the way in which social conditions undermine their well-being (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002: 334). In this stage people take the world as it is, some call this way of thinking 'destiny thinking'. To turn back to the words of Weick, the social conditions that undermine people's well-being are enacted by people that are more active and powerful. In other words marginalized groups have to see themselves and their communities from their own perspective to become aware of their own potentialities and of their power to transform society:

As men amplify their power to perceive and respond to suggestions and questions arising in their context, and increase their capacity to enter into dialogue not only with other men but with their world, they become "transitive". (Freire, 2003: 17)

This is the point at which hopelessness begins to be replaced by hope. While becoming transitive, people enter the second stage of the development of critical consciousness, that of 'naïve transitivity'. To Freire this kind of consciousness is present in men who are able to see things different while they are still part of a mass. Their capacity for dialogue is steadily developing but still fragile. This consciousness has to progress to the final stage of 'critical transitivity', which is characterized by the dynamic interaction between the critical awareness of one's reality and the social conditions that construct that reality, and critical action to transform that reality (Freire, 2003: 18). When a person or community has gone through these stages it has developed a critical consciousness. Such critical thinking has the ability to mobilize a group of people to challenge social relations that place their health at risk. It seems evident that psychological empowerment and critical consciousness go hand in hand. If people do not intellectually understand their situations and the determinants that shape it, they will not be able to successfully challenge those situations. In terms of community empowerment focusing on health, the process of critical consciousness can be described as:

A community empowerment intervention seeks to effect community-wide change in health-related behaviors by organizing communities to define their health problems [intransitive thought], to identify the determinants of those problems [naïve transitivity] and to engage in effective individual and collective action to change those determinants [critical transitivity]. (Becker et al., 1998: 833)

The concept of empowerment is closely related to another important culture concept, namely that of *social identity*. Social identity consists of aspects of one's self-definition that arise from membership of particular social groups (e.g., fraternity, choir), from social roles (e.g., parent, teacher) or from demographic categories (e.g., men, coloureds) (Weisz & Wood, 2000). Some of these aspects are not constant or permanent; for example a person can be part of a soccer team this year, while next year he or she might join a basketball team. This suggests that social identities are constructed and reconstructed from one moment to the next. As stated before the past decade has seen a paradigm drift towards participatory approaches within the HIV-prevention arena. Within that drift attention started to rise for the concept of social identity, because researchers and health-workers started to see individual acts, like using a condom, as structured by social identities rather than by individual decisions.

Campbell adds to this notion that sexuality is now seen as “a socially negotiated phenomenon, strongly influenced by group-based social identities and more particularly peer identities” (2003: 48). Campbell and MacPhail (2002: 333) state that “peer educational settings should [ideally] provide a context within which a group of young people may come together to construct identities that challenge the ways in which traditional gender relations [and practices] place their sexual health at risk.” Social identities, in such a situation, become potent tools for the development of a critical consciousness and psychological empowerment. It therefore plays a key role in the reflection of young people on their own potentialities and to shape alternative identities.

Although empowerment is an important aspect for all development programmes to succeed, empowerment alone is not enough. People need to feel that they are part of the programmes, that they do not stand alone in their fight against HIV/AIDS or other health related issues, that they are taken care of and that they are part of a bigger social community. In other words, they need to be part of social relations that provide them with the tools they need to take control of their own health. Here the concept of social capital comes into play, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

3.4 Social Capital

As mentioned in paragraph 3.2 one reason to enrol in sports activities is the powerful appeal of this form of social gathering to get in contact with other persons. Precisely that social aspect of sports is the main focus of this paragraph. We will pay attention to the term *social capital* and its role for persons being involved in sports activities, like the ones at TAP, in developing countries. Further, the concept is of special importance in the light of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, STIs and other health related issues. It has been argued that the extent to which participatory interventions mobilize or create social capital is an important determinant of the success of these programmes (Campbell, 2003: 51). Along this line, Putnam showed that societies with low levels of social capital have higher mortality rates and worse health status (Putnam, 2000).

The core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value. Just as a screwdriver (physical capital) or a college education (human capital) can increase productivity, so too social contacts and networks affect the productivity and the societal value of individuals and groups. In the light of Marx’s classical capital theory, Lin (2000: 3) defines all forms of capital as “an investment of resources with expected returns in the marketplace.” Within this notion, it means that capital is only produced when the gains (returns) are higher than the efforts (investment of resources). Other writers have the opinion that every social relation has its value and therefore has social capital, the only difference among individuals is the impact a certain social relation has on them:

Originating with people forming connections and networks based on the principles of trust, mutual reciprocity and norms of action, social capital is created from the complexity of social relations and their impact on the lives of the people in them. (Fleming & Boeck, 2005: 226)

To these authors the concept looks at the quality of social relations and their impact on the lives of their participants. Social relations and the complexity of every day interactions between people therefore form the basis for social capital (Fleming & Boeck, 2005: 224).

Social capital has both an individual and a collective aspect. Some of the benefits of the investment in social capital made by an individual come back to that person, simultaneous some benefits go to the 'public' (Putnam, 2000: 20). For example, a manager of the Tshepong Aids Project is active in a diverse network of people from all sorts of organizations. This might eventually result in a paid job at, for instance, loveLife. Simultaneous this person helped the community with his work at the programme. Social capital comes in many different shapes and sizes with many different uses. The family represents a form of social capital, as do the people one went to school with. MSN Messenger contacts, members of your sports club, the people you meet in your regular pub; they all form communities where people boost their social capital.

Every form of capital can also be used for antisocial purposes (Putnam, 2000: 22). For example, one can use a crowbar (physical capital) to break into someone's car, or the expertise how to fly a plane (human capital) for a terrorist attack. Although the concept of social capital sounds very optimistic, it also relates to less positive social networks that contribute little to social cohesion. Terrorist groups, the mafia, or street gangs are such networks. They, too, provide the individual member with social capital, resulting in negative manifestations, which should be minimized. Other negative consequences of social capital include the exclusion of outsiders and restrictions on individual freedom (Hyden, 2001). It is, for example, for a lot of religious people still not possible to marry a person from another religion without being rejected by his or her family or direct religious community.

Within the concept of social capital there is a major distinction between two different theoretical positions. Pierre Bourdieu was particularly concerned with the reproduction of inequalities, focusing on the maintaining and reproducing power of social capital for the dominant class. In his approach social capital is a form of capital that provides substantial advantages to those individuals, families or communities that are better connected to durable networks (Bourdieu, 1986). This meaning differs from the one ascribed by authors like Putnam and Coleman, who identify social capital as social networks of trust, solidarity and reciprocity to the advantage of homogeneous communities with common interests and shared values (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Bourdieu's theoretical position can be traced back to Marx's capital theory, while the latter is based on Durkheimian views, concentrating on aspects of social cohesion and solidarity. It is this meaning that I recon to be the most useful for this research, notwithstanding Joanne Martin's notion of differentiation and fragmentation (Martin, 2002). The three perspectives on organizational culture she introduced in the 1990s are not only useful to organizations as such, but are extremely valuable to study other social constructions as well. To every individual and every group of individuals, social networks have their own value.

In his book *Bowling Alone* Putnam tells us that the notion of social capital refers to "connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000: 19). The most important

distinction Putnam makes in the concept of social capital is that between bridging (inclusive) and bonding (exclusive). Bonding social capital refers to the value assigned to social networks between homogenous groups of individuals. It is primarily about specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity. Bridging social capital, as the name tells us, refers to the value assigned to social networks between socially heterogeneous groups. This form of capital is much more about new connections, generating broader identities. The distinction is useful in highlighting how social capital is involved in the Tshepong Aids Project's sports activities. By using these two forms of social capital empirical material can be analysed and statements can be made whether the sports activities are about creating solidarity, or more about new relationships and getting ahead.

Social capital, at a community level, promotes health via the provision of social support through familial and non-familial networks, as well as informal social control over abnormal behaviours such as underage smoking and alcohol abuse (Kawachi, 1999). To Campbell social capital is considered to be important for two reasons. It enables communities that are rich in social capital "to provide a supportive context within which people can collectively renegotiate *social identities* in ways that promote the increased likelihood of health-enhancing behaviours" And it is most likely that people living in communities with high levels of social capital "have high levels of perceived control over their everyday lives" (Campbell, 2003: 52). However, the fate of these local marginalized communities is linked to more powerful actors, such as the Health Department, drug distributors and antenatal clinics. Therefore, the potential success of health-promoting interventions is determined by the quality and quantity of links between these powerful groups and the community.

3.5 Integration, Differentiation & Fragmentation

The theoretical concepts mentioned in the previous paragraphs are apparent in development- and community literature, but how are they visible in real life social settings? The sports activities as organized at the Tshepong Aids Project are social gatherings with a high potential for developing social capital and the development of critical consciousness and empowerment. In the next chapter attention is paid to the theoretical concepts introduced in this chapter and their relation to the meaning of sports for the persons concerned. The empirical material is analysed by using Joanne Martin's (2002) perspectives on organizational culture: the integration-, differentiation- and fragmentation perspective. Each of these perspectives focuses on different processes of inclusion and exclusion. The first perspective, integration has homogeneity and consensus as starting points. From this perspective there is no real place for differences and minority groups need to adapt to methods, practices, regulations and cultures of dominant groups. This means that a project would treat all actors involved in a similar way, seeing their organizational strategy as the right solution. The differentiation perspective focuses on consensus within subcultures of an organizations or society. These subcultures can function separately from each other, in harmony with each other, or they can be in conflict with each other (Martin, 2002: 94). Within this perspective, the existence of these subcultures is recognized, and used in favour of the organization, project or community. The focus of this perspective is therefore on differences among several subcultures. The third perspective focuses on individuals' meanings and on ambiguity. This perspective

therefore pays attention to interpretations that are in constant flux. In contrast with the former two this perspective does not focus on consensus, it rather pays attention to individuals that move from one subculture to the next and in doing so make connections with all kind of other individuals and groups.

The above-mentioned perspectives are tools to analyse empirical research material. In that way they work as an extension of the theoretical concepts to place the findings in a bigger entity. In order to retrieve such insight, the three perspectives need to be used complementary to each other. The focus will therefore be on all three perspectives. It is interesting to see whether these perspectives are visible in the organization of the sports activities and which one is dominant in the way TAP's volunteers relate to youngsters, teachers and parents. By using these perspectives it is possible to see whether the marginalized people of Ikageng are indeed stimulated to become aware of their social identity, to develop a critical consciousness and to be empowered to act as actors of their own lives.

Chapter 4

HIV/AIDS, Sports & the Community in Practice

After presenting theories on the relevance of sports to communities and meanings that people give to sports, it is now time to turn to the practice of HIV awareness through sports within Ikageng's community. This chapter starts with a description how HIV awareness has taken its place in everyday practice of the Tshepong Aids Project's sports activities and in particular how youngsters react to it. A distinction is made between passive forms of awareness and active forms of awareness, focussing on the attractiveness and effectiveness of the two forms for children. Attention is paid to the way these forms of awareness contribute to the empowerment of individuals and of the community. In paragraph 4.2 the reader finds practical research findings about the structure and communication about the sports activities at TAP. The concepts of bridging and bonding social capital help a lot to understand and analyze the social value of these sports activities. Using observations, field notes and interviews, the researcher comes to a broad view on the meaning of sports for the different groups in the township. Here the integration, differentiation and fragmentation perspectives play an important role in separating and connecting the different meanings that people address to sports. This is discussed in paragraph 4.3.

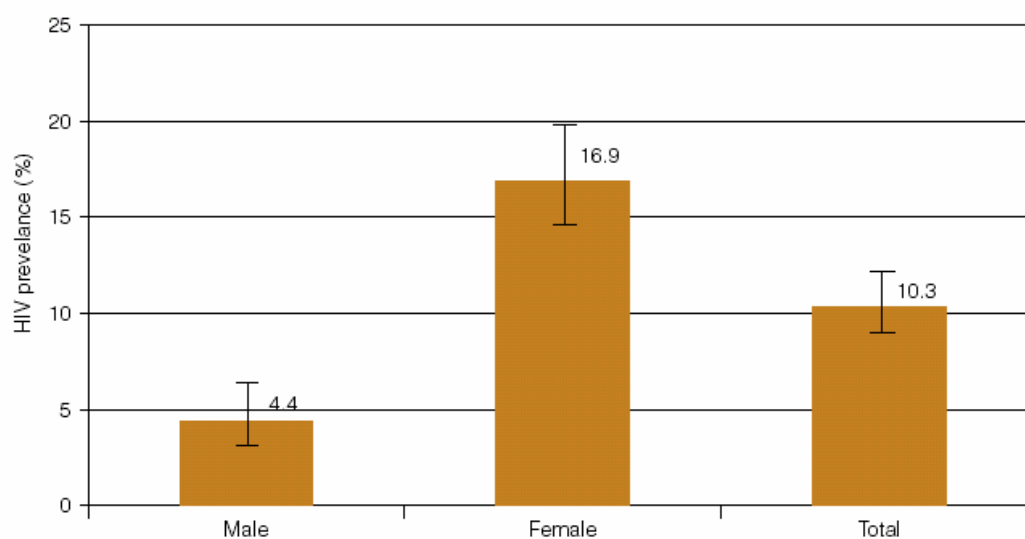
4.1 Passive versus Active forms of Empowerment

A loveLife national study on youth (2004) states that most youth (94%) thought there are ways to avoid HIV infection like: use of condoms (77%), abstaining from sex (41%), having one faithful partner (10%) and 7 % reported not having many sexual partners as a way of avoiding HIV infection. According to this study the most commonly mentioned source of knowledge on HIV for South African youth aged 15 to 24 was school (32%). In that same study it is said that 67% of this age group is sexually experienced and that 52% reported having sex with a condom during their last sexual intercourse. The majority of youth (87%) felt that they had access to condoms. Among this age group there was an estimated HIV-prevalence rate of 10.3% in 2005 (see table 4.1) according to a study of the South African Human Sciences Research Council (Shisana et. al., 2005). Among 'black' South Africans aged 15-24 the prevalence rate is higher, an estimated 12.3%. There is a huge disparity between male and female youth, as prevalence rates are respectively 4.4% and 16.9%. (This prevalence figure for women and the overrepresentation of girls in the sports activities of TAP, account for the fact that this study focuses more on the meaning of sports for girls than for boys). These figures show us that South African youth is, though informed about the dangers of unprotected sex and the presence of HIV among people within this group, very sexually active. South African youth knows the ABC-message (abstain, be faithful, or condomize), but the majority does not act on this advice.

HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns were all over Ikageng at the time of the research. Gigantic billboards of loveLife with the messages "Get attitude" and "Talk about it" were visible at several locations in the township. There were graffiti paintings on

walls around the stadium and other buildings, like a candle with an AIDS-ribbon or a condom, or messages such as “AIDS kills”. Similar messages and paintings were written on walls of several schools, such as a painting of an AIDS-ribbon over a sigaret, needle, bottle and a pot smoker, as a sign that smoking and alcohol- and drug abuse are bad habits. “Let’s fight AIDS is a killer” was written on a wall next to the basketball ground of one of the schools. At first this may seem not a clear message, but when one looks at it closer there are two messages in one sentence: “Let’s fight AIDS” and “AIDS is a killer”. It becomes clear that HIV/AIDS related messages are visible all over Ikageng. Through these forms of awareness all the people of the township are approached in a similar way were visibility forms a major aspect. Through these messages and pictures thousands of individuals are reached in one particular global (integrative) way. Due to these forms of awareness the youth of Ikageng is probably daily confronted with the dangers of HIV/AIDS. However, it is the question whether these rather clear messages create significant behavioural changes among people from the community, as they are passive forms of psychological empowerment.

Table 4.1 HIV prevalence among youth aged 15–24 by sex, South Africa 2005



Source: Shisana et. al., 2005

To these passive forms of awareness the Tshepong Aids Project adds more active initiatives. Its sports activities are part of loveLife’s ‘Outreach Programme’. They aim at reaching the youth of Ikageng and making them aware of HIV/AIDS and the dangers of an unhealthy lifestyle. The term ‘unhealthy lifestyle’ refers to behaviours such as smoking, alcohol and drug abuse and unprotected sex. Apart from sports other activities are organized to reach this goal, such as ‘Debate’ and ‘Motivation’. The former “aims to enhance young people’s assertiveness, self-confidence, creative thinking skills and their ability to communicate” (loveLife, 2004: 85). In theory this activity facilitates young people in developing opinions and therefore empowers them to make their own, informed decisions with regard to their sexual health. It is thus essentially aimed at boosting young people’s critical consciousness, which makes

them more active and therefore more powerful people. At the moment of research the only people taking part in this programme were the volunteers of TAP themselves. Motivation is an activity that takes place at secondary schools during lessons and on the sports grounds of TAP before or after practice and during league days. During motivational talks, volunteers of TAP talk about underlying factors that fuel the spread of HIV, STI's, teenage pregnancy, and other issues that are relevant to these pre- and newly-sexually active adolescents. Furthermore its emphasize is on a positive attitude towards life, which might make young people "more assertive in negotiating sexual behaviour" (loveLife, 2004: 85). This activity is therefore also aimed at developing young people's critical consciousness, to make them aware of their power to reconstruct traditional (gender) relations and behaviours. These programmes act as springboards for outreach into the community.

While attending one of these motivational talks at a secondary school students at first appeared to be very interested. They were silent and were seriously listening to the two volunteers of TAP who were giving a lecture about the dangers of having unprotected sex. Yet after a while the students seemed distracted. They started to talk with each other and to giggle. Though students got noisy, TAP's volunteers went on with their story. The motivational talk took as long as a full hour. Students had about fifteen minutes to ask questions. This resulted in some kind of debate between TAP's volunteers and a homosexual boy. Girls were not asking any questions. The session was concluded with words that were similar to the ABC-message. Based on similar motivational talks at secondary schools it is my opinion that these kinds of motivational talks are not very fruitful. Students seemed to have heard the story many times and went to their daily things afterwards. While trying to make the students aware of their power to construct reality and to help them to develop a critical consciousness, there was an important aspect missing to reach those same students. It looked like there was no real connection between the students and the volunteers. The volunteers actually had the personality of a teacher by standing in front of the class and trying to 'teach' the students something.

In comparison with motivational talks at schools there were motivational talks during sports activities. Trainings in basketball and netball were held at the sports grounds of TAP everyday from Monday till Thursday afternoon. These trainings were closed and sometimes also opened with a general gathering where trainers and youngsters formed a circle and started singing, sometimes with miming. As Elias points out:

"The 'mimetic' sphere provides emotional arousals that are closely related to, yet in a specific way different from, those which people experience in the ordinary course of their non-leisure life." (Elias, in Giulianotti, 2005: 140)

In other words, mimetic activities allow out of the ordinary behaviour among peers. One example was a song whereby children touched their chest, behind, and crotch. The purpose of this song was that youngsters become aware of the meaning of their private parts and of the fact that they are in control of their own body. These kind of motivational activities were also held during openings and closings of league days, which were held every second week on a Wednesday.

Talks during the sports activities were shorter and livelier than talks at schools. All youngsters took part in these motivational gatherings. It looked like these talks received much higher attention than the talks in secondary schools. Youngsters really absorbed the messages, especially those that were brought in a funny and participatory way. Girls and boys were having fun with each other and almost no power or gender tension was visible. Girls seemed confident to participate in motivational activities and to make themselves heard. These active motivational talks seem to stimulate interaction and therefore social cohesion among male and female youngsters from six different primary schools and TAP's volunteers. Through this social cohesion they seem to establish a high degree of bridging social capital and therefore probably reinforce their social position. The socially heterogeneous groups are creating bridging social capital by communicating in the same way at the same level with other social groups from the community. They create this form of capital before or after competing each other during the sports activities.

It now has become evident that there are differences in motivational talks at schools and motivational talks during sports activities. The motivational activities at sports grounds are done in an informal setting, while schools form a formal setting. The relationship between TAP's volunteers and youngsters is a second difference that has its influence on the impact of motivational talks. This relation is less hierarchical at the sports grounds than it is in schools. Furthermore, physicality is accepted at sports grounds, while in schools this is an odd behaviour. These three differences might distinguish the effectiveness of motivational talks. These talks get an amusing appeal while done during sports activities and reach a relevant public. TAP's sports activities therefore have high potential for successful motivational talks. It is the question however if there are enough youngsters active in TAP's sports activities to create a community wide behaviour change based on these motivational talks. These talks combined with the sports activities of Tshepong have the power to establish psychological -and thus individual- empowerment. Other groups, for example students of secondary schools, teachers or parents should be involved to speak of real community empowerment. In the next paragraph we will see if one or more of these groups are actively involved in the project's activities.

4.2 Bonding versus Bridging Social Capital?

This paragraph is mainly about the participation of youngsters, teachers, and parents in TAP's sports activities and the implications for the development of bonding and bridging social capital among these groups. At first, information might not seem useful to other organizations. Yet the findings may be looked at as a warning as they tell about possible good practices and pitfalls of organizing sports activities in the light of HIV/AIDS awareness.

In February 2005, when the research started, a group of about 120 youngsters attended the first sports trainings. After a few weeks this number started to decrease, which resulted in an active¹⁵ group of youngsters that fluctuated between 50 and 80. Towards the end of the research, around May/June 2005, this number declined even further,

¹⁵ The distinction 'active/inactive' refers to youngsters who are respectively active in basketball or netball and who are there to watch these sports activities.

with sometimes only an active group of 20 youngsters per training. On league days the number of active youngsters was always high, between 100 and 150. In addition to the active youngsters, there was always a large number of inactive youngsters that attended league days. This high number of participants during league days can be explained by the fact that TAP's coaches always announced these league days after training. Sometimes they also went to school where they announced a league day. The children probably motivated each other to attend the league days. However, trainings themselves seemed not to receive much attention. What do such differences in participation tell us? It probably means that the side activities during league days, such as music, form a power of attraction. Other than that, it probably means that excitement plays a major role in decisions of children to take part in sports activities. The low number of youngsters at trainings might further be a result of the many training days. During a week without a league day there are four trainings; this might be a bit much for youngsters of primary schools, who are not all talented. But it also might be the result of the integration perspective TAP's volunteers use for the trainings. The trainings are the same for everyone: there is no distinction in skill-levels, gender or age, the focus is on intrinsic skill development, and a high degree of discipline is central to the trainings. There seemed to be no real attention for individual needs, wishes or meanings during the trainings.

A distinction needs to be made here between basketball and netball. In basketball training the youngsters were separated per school and worked their way through training on one and the same pitch. It can be stated that these trainings had high potential for bonding social capital. However, the potential for bridging social capital is much lower during the trainings. Only afterwards youngsters have the chance to develop a social relation with youngsters from other primary schools. In netball youngsters were mixed, shaping the potential for making new friends and therefore for the development of bridging social capital. Several youngsters mentioned this as an important reason to participate in the sports activities:

“I like to play netball at Tshepong, because I have the chance to meet girls from the other primary schools”

It might be argued how valuable this bridging social capital is, because it is still among children of the same age. It might also be argued if bridging social capital is better than bonding social capital in this case. A good neighbour is worth more than a distant friend could be the applicable saying here.

For the issue of HIV/AIDS awareness this, on the short term, is not so problematic; most attention to HIV/AIDS awareness, by means of motivational speeches and other activities was paid during league days. On the long term, however, low participation at trainings might result in less interest in and less participation during league days. Furthermore, youngsters might fall into risk-taking behaviour when not present at the sports grounds. This is directly contradictory to one of TAP's goals, namely establishing a community wide behaviour change through sports to reduce the spread of HIV.

While interviewing the teachers of the six primary schools it was noticed that only three really knew what was going on at the sports grounds of the Tshepong Aids Project. These three had been at the scene once or twice, and had not received a full

explanation from TAP's volunteers. Two teachers said that they had a good contact with the head of sports of TAP and that they were informed properly. These teachers said they used this information and stimulated the learners to take part in TAP's sports activities. Other teachers emphasized the importance of a singular contact person at TAP, who should be easy to get to (note that there was a single head of sports at TAP who functioned as a contact person, but at the time of research this person had to put down her duties and turn them over to another person for private reasons.) Furthermore, almost every teacher explained that they had seen some members of TAP in the past at irregular intervals to tell the students which activities were organized at TAP:

“Sometimes people from the Tshepong Aids Project come to this school during assembly and then they make an announcement about the things that are going on at Tshepong.”

Several teachers emphasized that their primary schools had general assemblies at a fixed day in the week and that such an assembly was a perfect moment for the people of TAP to inform the children (and the teachers) about their activities and schedule. They hoped for better communications between the project and their schools and for regular informative visits from people from the project.

During league days the crowd consisted of children from the primary schools that were there to support their classmates, youth from the neighbourhood, people from the project, and youth that were there to dance on the music that was playing. Only three times during a league day there was a teacher to watch the basketball and netball games at TAP and only on one occasion there were two teachers. In addition, parents were never spotted at the sports grounds. At the same time, what became clear while conducting the interviews, the parents were not informed about the sports activities at TAP. When asked to a mother if she knew the Tshepong Aids Project, she answered scared: “*Aids Project?*” and looked at her son. What became clear is that she knew her son was practicing sports after school at the grounds near the stadium, but she did not know this was an initiative of an organization related to HIV/AIDS. This made it clear that TAP was not that very well known in the community, the name loveLife rang more bells. This might have to do with the fact that volunteers of TAP wear shirts with loveLife's logo. The name ‘Tshepong Aids Project’ or ‘TAP’ is nowhere visible in the community. Even on TAP's office there is no sign of a name. So how should parents know the name ‘Tshepong Aids Project’?

Except for three teachers, no interviewed parent or teacher had been at the scene of the sports activities. This is regrettable, for without the presence of these groups the likelihood for creating bridging social capital decreases dramatically for all the individuals concerned; volunteers, parents, teachers and especially youngsters. The consequence is that TAP's sports activities primarily foster the development of bonding social capital. Except for the connection between youngsters of six different primary schools and TAP's volunteers no real new connections are made. This is an opportunity that is not utilized. The sports activities and especially the league days have a high potential for establishing new connections between socially heterogeneous groups. The four mentioned groups could make new connections during these league days. But sometimes also other groups, like students from secondary schools, or from Potchefstroom University, or people from the local

government or from the Department of Health could be invited to attend league days. One employee of the DoH of Potchefstroom was interested in attending a league day of TAP, so people from other groups are willing to passively, or maybe even actively, participate in the league days. By bringing more delegates from different social groups to the activities, TAP's league days might establish a higher, realistic potential for bridging social capital and might therefore add a positive contribution to the development of the project and to empowerment of the community as a whole.

No parent or teacher could exactly tell in what way TAP's sports activities were combined with HIV/AIDS awareness. Furthermore, they were not able to tell what the Tshepong Aids Project was about. During the interviews only a few teachers really used the word HIV; it seemed like the respondents were not at ease to talk about the disease. So even though the township is full with gigantic billboards and several NGO's, CBO's and FBO's in Ikageng are openly active on the HIV terrain, HIV/AIDS still is a topic that people generally do not wish to talk about. What they did want to talk about was sports, to which we turn now.

4.3 Meanings of Sports in Ikageng

In Ikageng sports are an ever-present sight of social life. Almost every school has some kind of playground that can be used for sports. Through the township several sport fields can be distinguished, with an over representation of soccer fields. Other grass fields were also used for sports, mainly for soccer. The main sport accommodation is the stadium in the centre of Ikageng. The stadium and the surrounding area are used for all kind of gatherings. The neighboring townships, Promosa and Mohadin, have their own sports facilities, but these will not be included in this study for the focus is on Ikageng. It is not strange that sports are present in Ikageng. Coakley (2003: 336) argues that sports played by young people from low-income households often occur in public spaces. These girls and boys might sometimes also have responsibilities at home, like care for younger siblings, so they practice sport whenever they can and wherever they can. This socio-economic aspect is only one of several that are of influence on sports experiences and participation patterns, which differ from one social class to another.

Except for work, most people who live in the townships do not travel often to Potchefstroom City. The inhabitants of the different parts of Potchefstroom municipality live their lives separately, in their own community. Sports are one of the social phenomena that connect the people of Ikageng, Promosa and Mohadin with people living in Potchefstroom town. When attending the Absa Cup¹⁶ semi final between Supersport United and Santos, the soccer stadium in Potchefstroom was fully packed with people from the townships. So, major events might attract people from the township to the city. However, they probably will not attract people the other way round; from the city to the townships.

¹⁶ Absa Cup semi final, Orlen Park Stadium Potchefstroom, South Africa, May 15th 2005

As stated in chapter 3, in South Africa sports and the meanings attached to them are dramatically influenced by its recent turbulent history. Thinking in terms of black and white is as normal as people in the Western world think in terms of male and female. When we see a boxing match, we think in terms of toughness, masculinity, hostility and confrontations, which we attribute to males. In South Africa, rugby is still described as a pure white sport with “a distinctive masculine, nationalist identity that emphasizes ‘ruggedness, endurance, forcefulness and determination’” (Giulianotti, 2005: 81). In a similar way, blacks have made soccer ‘their game’ (Pelak, 2005: 57). And, as was described in chapter two, netball is a specific ‘female sport’ in South Africa. Pelak argues that this typifying is a perfect example of how people socially construct imaginary boundaries:

The strict boundaries between so-called ‘male sports’ and ‘female sports’ in South Africa are classical examples of how dominant groups construct social, physical, and cultural boundaries to build collective identities and naturalize their privilege. (Pelak, 2005: 58)

The meanings dominant groups attach to sports are plausibly of influence on personal meanings given by the respondents. The construction of meaning is a continuous process that can only be understood by looking at the broader social context in which they are produced. Sense making and the construction of meaning are outcomes of dynamical processes of interaction, personal belief, negotiation, experience and other social interactions and they vary from one person to another (Boessenkool & Vermeulen, 2005; Coakley, 2003; Verweel, 2000).

As children, parents and teachers are three distinct groups with all kinds of different social interactions, it can be expected that the meanings addressed to sports will differ per group. However, they are all talking about the same ‘object’, namely sports, and that is what combines the three groups. Theory and the outcomes of all the interviews and observations and participation point towards five aspects in which the answers on the meaning of sports can be divided: the protection aspect, the physical aspect, the enrichment (or education) aspect, the amusement aspect and the performance aspect. These aspects correspond with aspects of sports that are particularly meaningful to certain groups or individuals. The different aspects of sports are discussed below and the empirical data is further explained by theoretical insights, leading up to a broad understanding of the meaning of sports for people in Ikageng.

4.3.1 Social Protection

When asked what sports mean to them, teachers emphasized the importance of sports in the child’s social world. Six of the seven interviewed teachers said that sports keep the children away from the street and away from people with bad influence. They see sports as a rather ‘clean’ part of society where children are able to play without getting in contact with alcohol, drugs or other dangerous situations. To cite a teacher:

“The most important thing is that it [sports] keeps children out of the street. [...] It protects children from bad influence.”

Several teachers emphasized that taking part in sports activities developed a high level of discipline, which in turn helps children to avoid dangerous situations. This meaning addressed to sports is also the one mentioned the most by the interviewed parents. They said they do not want their children roaming around the

streets after school. However, when asked about their stimulation on after school activities like sports, most of them did not have a particular answer. It seemed as if most parents did not exactly know where their children were in the period after school and before dinner. They said they find it very important that their children are not hanging around on the streets, but some are not able to explain what their children do and where they are after school.

“After school he goes to this place at the stadium and when it’s finished he comes home for dinner.”

As stated in the previous paragraph, the interviewed parents did not come to the sports grounds to watch their children practice sports. They see sports as a mechanism of protection and they think their children are safe. However, they cannot be totally sure about this, for they never really experienced the reality of the sports activities at the Tshepong Aids Project. Then, where does this meaning based on positive associations with sports come from? One possibility is that sports in general have a positive connotation. Athletes who win a gold medal at the Olympic Games or a soccer player that makes the winning goal in the FIFA World Cup final become national heroes. Furthermore, organized sports promote fair competition; independent referees judge actions according to rules rather than social status. In that sense, sports are a way for people from disadvantaged communities to participate on equal levels with people from higher classes. Another positive connotation might come from people’s personal experience. Most people who practiced sports have joyful memories to these experiences: being with others, making new connections, developing your body. These positive features may unconsciously play a role in the construction of meaning on sports for parents.

Not only do parents think sports are positive for a child, most of them said they also regularly talked about it when having a conversation with the child. Only one parent suits the action to the word:

“I stimulate him. We bought a ball to play basketball. His uncle also plays basketball; sometimes they go practice a bit together.”

Apart from parents and teachers there were also two girls that thought about sports in terms of protection:

“I like to play basketball, because it keeps me away from the street.”

In general however, it cannot be said that children thought of sports as a protection factor. Their meanings were more connected to other aspects of sports. This factor was thus mentioned by all the three groups, but mainly by the parents and teachers. To see sports as locations where children have less chance to get in contact with things or people that have a bad influence on them comes from a ‘semi-intransitive thought’ to speak in Freire’s words. They emphasize the importance to adapt to reality and to survive in this world. It is all about survival.

4.3.2 Physical Development

In literature about health science a commonly mentioned factor of sports is the physical healthiness. A recent World Health Organization document (WHO, 2005) emphasizes that sports and physical activity are crucial for life-long healthy living. Sports and play improve health and well-being, extend life expectancy and reduce the likelihood of several non-transmissible and chronic diseases, including cardiovascular diseases, cancer and diabetes. Furthermore among young people physical activity contributes to healthy bones, improved motor skills and cognitive function (UN, 2003).

Although youngsters, parents and teachers do not think about sports in terms of reducing diseases, they do emphasize the physical aspect of sports. About a quarter of the interviewed children mention the physical aspect as a reason for doing sports. They addressed this aspect in terms of *“I want to be fit”* and *“it keeps me active.”* Almost half of the parents and teachers mentioned physical healthiness as an important factor of sports:

“It [sport] helps them to be fit.”

Their meanings around fitness and physical development did not go much further than these kinds of statements. But theory and observations point towards further meaning of the physical aspect of sports. Not only does physical development directly influence one's healthiness, research (Miller et. al., 1998; Miller et. al., 2002; Snyder & Kivlin, 1975) suggests that it indirectly also reduces sexual risk behaviour. Successful sports participation can help create a positive body image. A particular research (Snyder & Kivlin, 1975) has shown that women athletes from the United States, Australia and India have a better self-image, a better body-image and a better outlook towards life than non-athletes. In the light of HIV/AIDS issues this is an important feature of sports, because a positive body image might result in later (responsible) sexual activity. A US study points out that elevated self-esteem from participation in sports may influence girls' sexual decision-making and enhance their ability to negotiate use of contraceptives (Miller et al., 2002). The study suggests that there are three reasons for this correlation. First, through physical exercise one builds physical strength and this may literally play a role in determining the outcome of a sexual intercourse. Second, in the modern world fitness is automatically connected to attractiveness; physical exercise therefore strengthens self-esteem and reduces anxiety. Third, physical exercise can be seen as an alternative outlet for (sexual) energy. One teacher mentioned this feature of physical exercise:

“Furthermore it [sport] reduces fighting; it gives them a way to let of steam.”

So physical exercise might result in stronger individuals that have higher self-esteem and are more relaxed. These individual characteristics however do not determine behaviour as such. In chapter 3 it has become clear that individual decision-making is determined by culturally constructed gender expectations. So there must be an additional reason for the fact that sports influence girls' sexual decision-making. This must be sought in the enrichment aspect of sport, which will be discussed next.

4.3.3 Individual Empowerment

As described in chapter 3, sports may form an alternative ground for education. It is this aspect of sports that is closely related to the concepts of empowerment and social capital. Learning and socializing through sports enriches a child with basic principles and social skills, by which it can understand the dynamics of the world and act upon them. Among others, sports training and participation can lead to development of important social skills, the formation of peer relationships and the ability to cooperate and negotiate as a team member (Brady, 1998).

Based on the interviews it seemed that this aspect was most relevant to the teachers. All the teachers mentioned this aspect of sports and talked passionately about it. They talked about certain life skills that children learn through play and sports, with communication, discipline, confidence and leadership being the most important ones. This is a rather widely accepted feature of sports. A UN report (2003) states that “skills learned through play, physical education and sport are foundational to the holistic development of young people. These skills [...] are essential for social cohesion and are carried throughout adult life.” Here the teachers emphasized not only the positive consequences of TAP’s sports activities, but also the positive consequences of sports facilities at schools. Their opinion was that good sports facilities at school motivate students to attend classes.

“Some of the kids, they don’t like coming to school, but if there are sports activities, they have another reason to come to the school.”

Following this the learners also attend normal classes when first and foremost attracted by sports activities, resulting in the cognitive development of a child. Some teachers said that the physical aspect mentioned earlier is also having an influence on the learning skills of a child:

“Exercise and education go hand in hand; [physical] activity keeps your mind active.”

This means that teachers see sports as an outlet that improves the concentration capability. Related to TAP’s goals, the sentence: “*sport freshens the mind,*” mentioned by one teacher, touches important aspects of sports; the educational and sociable function of sports. It means that through sports youngsters can think better, are more open to information and learn to negotiate over outcomes. It is the way that sports empower individuals in a psychological and social sense. They learn as they go along playing that they have to work hard to reach a specific goal. While trying to reach that goal mistakes can be made, which one teacher emphasized as an important learning point in sports:

“It [sports] gives a child discipline; the level of truancy goes down. [...] And they learn to make mistakes.”

In the remaining part of the interview the teacher explained that children need to accept their mistakes and mistakes of others, resulting in control over ones achievements and in positive thinking. According to this teacher a child discovers through sports how to make use of his mistakes, and how things should be done next time; that a mistake is not a dead end.

One of the teachers attached great value to team sports. In a team children train hard and learn to cooperate with other children according to this teacher. One of the key factors for a successful team is self-discipline. He emphasized that children must be taught that they themselves create their life. In a country where more than 50 percent of the black population is unemployed and lives in extreme poverty (Cameron, 2003), it is very valuable to take your destiny in your own hands in a positive way. According to the respondent youngsters have to do something in their lives, by which they distinguish themselves from others and by which they can construct their future. They learn this, in a familiar environment, through sports:

“They have to train and work hard, if they want to succeed. And discipline is the key of making effort with a team. And during sports they have to learn to face the difficulties of tomorrow, they have to be a leader for themselves.”

This teacher thus focused on the development of a critical consciousness through sports. It needs to be addressed though that sports by themselves do not shape character changes, such changes are more influenced by sports experiences. Playing basketball on itself for example, does not cause girls to negotiate traditional gender relations in a particular way, but their participation in TAPs basketball league is one social site where they might begin to consider various ideas about what it means to be a girl. Coakley (2003: 338) has shown that boys “learn to see and use sports participation as a special and legitimate means of establishing a masculine identity.” They use sports not only to develop their body and muscles, but also to construct or reconstruct their masculine identity. This is an interesting point, because, as stated before, young men use another thing to establish a masculine identity: sexual activity. It may be argued then that sports participation leads to less sexual activity, because a masculine identity is already constructed through sports.

Girls, naturally do not use sports to establish a masculine identity. However sports participation, as research has shown (Miller et. al., 2002), leads to the improvement of certain characteristics (better body-image, higher self-esteem) that influences girls’ own perception of their identity, resulting in later (responsible) sexual activity. So not only does sport influence individual characteristics (physical development), it also has the potential to challenge traditional gender relations. Through sports girls might discover an empowering alternative to the conventional script of passive femininity. They might become aware of the fact that they are in control of their own body (naïve transitivity) and act upon that thought (critical transitivity). In other words, sports are social settings where groups of people can develop a critical consciousness and, in so doing, dominant values can be criticized and new values or social relations can be constructed.

4.3.4 Personal Amusement

Sports are of course a form of recreation and amusement. In commercial sports amusement has become increasingly important. Especially in market economies time has become a scarce good. People have less and less spare time and want to spend this time on qualitative, amusing events (Breedveld, 2003). In amateur sports amusement plays a different, more personal role. Most sports involve competition, but the primary emphasis of every sport is on connections between people and on personal pleasure

through participation. A sport (activity) needs to amuse the participant, if that participant will continue to play that sport. Amusement is therefore a highly important aspect of amateur sports for the individual participant.

Parents and teachers did not mention the amusement aspect, only youngsters did. This could be explained by the fact that TAP's sports activities do not have a very competitive nature and that the skills of the players are not that high in general. The sports activities might therefore be not very amusing to outsiders. To the participants however, they are amusing. Coakley (2003) has shown that children are interested in four things when they get together and play on their own: action, personal involvement in action, an exciting experience and opportunities to reaffirm friendships during games. An organization that is able to offer these four things in their activities can count on a significant number of participants. TAP's league days offer these four things. Action is an important feature of all sports, especially physical sports like basketball and netball where action leads to scoring. The youngsters are personally involved in these activities, the highly skilled players as well as the less skilled players. Furthermore, the league days offer an exciting experience with competitive contests between the six schools. During a league day the youngsters are not all the time active on the sports grounds. This means that in between matches they have the possibility to get to know children from the same age from other schools and to develop friendships. Statements of several youngsters supported this:

“I love playing sports, because I learn [get to know] people from other places.”

In contrast with the league days, TAP's trainings do not include all the four conditions that make youngsters interested in the activity. For instance, the youngsters did not describe the trainings as exciting. They indicated that they would rather play more league matches. This absence of excitement can be seen as a direct explanation why there are more youngsters at league days, than at trainings.

4.3.5 Performance Ethic

Except from the four aspects formulated above the respondents mentioned a fifth. This fifth aspect is totally in line with the modern Olympic legend 'citius, altius, fortius' (faster, higher, stronger). The so-called performance aspect focuses on the possibility of becoming a successful athlete. It has been argued that this sports aspect is more important among children, especially boys from lower social classes, than children from upper social classes, because "personal stakes associated with sport participation are different and greater for boys from low-income backgrounds than they are for boys from higher-income backgrounds (Coakley, 2003: 339) In other words, boys from low-income households are more motivated to make a career out of sports, because they have less opportunities in life on a successful career. For athletes who focus on the performance ethic of sports, fun comes to be defined in terms of becoming a better athlete. This means that some participants evaluate their experiences in terms of developing technical skills and progressing to higher levels of achievement. Sports form a chance in life of getting out of a situation of severe hopelessness. In other words, sports are a form of social mobility. However, the number of career opportunities in sports is limited, especially for women.

One might say that most children, parents and teachers in Ikageng are realistic about one's changes in sports, because only few respondents mentioned this factor. But the few that mentioned it were really serious about it. One male teacher mentioned that since the end of apartheid, blacks have more possibilities to make a living out of sports:

“Nowadays sport is about money, making life out of sport for yourself, because in the former day we used to play sport only for enjoyment. But now things have changed, you can make a living out of sport.”

This is particularly true. Since the end of apartheid South African sports teams are welcome again at international events. Mainly soccer has developed swiftly in the country, creating new changes for black South Africans. At first, it was only on a national level that soccer gave more life opportunities to non-whites. A lively competition with popular clubs, like Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs as the result. Later, it was on an international level that black South Africans had more changes to make a living out of soccer. The Dutch professional soccer club Ajax founded a satellite club in Cape Town in 1999 called Ajax Cape Town. This gave South African talented soccer players a realistic change to be transferred to one of Europe's biggest soccer clubs, where massive wages are paid. This development has not gone by unnoticed in Ikageng. One boy said he wants to play soccer, because there is a lot of money in it. And a girl that practices basketball at TAP said she likes to play soccer, because she wants to be seen on television. For now however, TAP only offers basketball and netball, but there are early plans to introduce soccer. But even in the two existing sports there are opportunities for another way of life. Especially teachers emphasized this:

“Sometimes a child is not doing so well at school, and then sports can give them a new opportunity in life.”

Although performance was mentioned as an aspect of sports that plays a role in youngsters' construction of meaning, Tshepong does not offer the children the luxury of being promoted into higher skilled training categories. This does not seem to be necessary; a talented child already has the possibility to become involved with talent youth teams in the region, by means of USASSA games. It is also not the responsibility of Tshepong to offer a more performance aimed sports programme. The goals of TAP are simply not aimed at the primary development of sports skills. Furthermore, most children do not mention performance as a central issue for taking part in a sport. Having fun, playing together with friends and excitement are much more important.

4.3.6 Differentiated Meanings

While the above description of meanings given to sports is structured around a differentiation perspective it is an absolute truth that meanings given to TAP's sports activities differ from one person to the next. In that sense it might be good for TAP to approach the different social groups from both a differentiation and a fragmentation perspective. Especially among youngsters meanings differed a lot. The five meanings mentioned above are all recognized by at least one child. Some youngsters mentioned all five aspects, while others gave meaning to TAP's sports activities by focussing on just one or two aspects. Some youngsters want to develop their physical healthiness,

others want to reach higher levels of achievement, and still others want to establish new friendships. This suggests that TAP's sports activities must probably be very versatile to attain high attention. This in turn asks a lot from coaches; they need to be creative in their practices to satisfy every individual child. On top of that they are primarily on their own to organize trainings and league days. This does not give them much time to focus on other aspect that might foster behavioural changes. The construction of bridging social capital through connections between socially heterogeneous groups is therefore poorly developed.

Bonding capital seems to be a very strong feature of TAP's sports activities. The motivational talks before and after the league days have a high potential for this form of capital when youngsters are seen as a social homogeneous group. The trainings and the matches during league days create bonding capital among youngsters from the same primary school. One possible positive consequence of this high degree of bonding social capital is that the youngsters trust each other and make friends in this group. This probably reduces the chance for them hanging around on the streets. It is this positive consequence that parents so eagerly yearn for. Within this group there were not much other meanings attached to sports. As has become clear they primarily focussed on the negative influences of the streets and the way sports can help children to avoid them. But sometimes these parents talked about sports in different ways. Especially when talking about their own experiences, the used discourses had a much more positive tone. So within this group as well, it needs to be taken into account that sports have different meanings across all individuals. But there is a single collective meaning, which unites these individuals.

Among teachers there are two meanings given to sports that unite them as a distinctively social group. First, there is again the social protection aspect. Just like the parents attention is paid to negative influences and dangers of the street. Second, they focus on social and psychological empowerment of youngsters through sports. These are meanings that unite them as a group, but again it must be stated that all teachers named different things, laid different nuances and therefore meanings given to TAP's sports activities varied from one teacher to the next.

The Tshepong Aids Project not at all used these different meanings. As stated before, most teachers and all interviewed parents did not know what TAP's sports activities meant for HIV awareness. Communications with involved primary schools were weak and discontinue. Communications with parents were not established at all. This can be seen as the biggest challenge for TAP. By better and more structured communications with teachers and parents, the sports activities might get a higher status among these groups, which might attract more interest from these groups, which in turn might result in more spectators and more excitement during league days. A next step for TAP might be to make more use of the different meanings among youngsters that take part in the sports activities. Especially TAP's trainings should receive attention on this point. These trainings form the basis for attractive league days and for successful implicit active HIV awareness. When these structures are developed attention can be paid to other groups in the community, providing bridging social capital and higher potential for community empowerment.

Chapter 5

Active HIV Awareness Conclusion & Discussion

Ikageng is a township that has quite a lot of sports facilities, especially around schools and in the centre around the stadium. The facilities around the stadium form the setting where the Tshepong Aids Project organizes its sports activities. Several volunteers of TAP add a professional aspect to these sports activities. As stated in the previous chapter, youngsters, teachers and parents will probably use different terms to describe their meanings of sports. As we have seen now, this is the case. They talked about the same object, but used different discourses to assign meanings to this object. The discourses used by the different respondents were not by coincidence; the group (and on a broader scale the culture) they belong to determines these discourses. The sports activities actually formed the glue that linked the different groups of people, but the way they addressed meanings to the activities separated them.

Generally speaking it can be stated that children talked about sports mainly in terms of amusement and performance. This suggests that children have quite a positive worldview when thinking about and practicing sports. Fun and excitement play a major role in their decision to take part in sports activities. Youngsters define amusement by the possibilities to make friends, the level of performance, the behaviour of the coaches, and by the influence of other activities, like music. But the other aspects were also mentioned a lot by the interviewed children. The different meanings among this group suggest that youngsters expect variety within the sports activities. The activities should not center on one specific aspect, such as physical development. They should rather take all aspects in account to be attractive to a large group of children. This way they will reach a higher potential for success.

Parents and caretakers talked about sports in a whole different language. They approached sports as if it were a safety mechanism. *“It keeps him of the street”* was the most significant quotation for this group. The negative undertone of this sentence is enormous and probably indicates a negative worldview. Parents, in general, want their children to be better off than they are. Education and sports are probably seen as the best ways to achieve such a social mobility. However, as said in the previous chapter, most parents in Ikageng were realistic about the chances for social mobility through sports. Then this meaning is indeed probably fed by a negative worldview. Parents do not want their children to get in contact with bad influences of ‘the street’, and therefore stimulate them to be involved in sports.

Teachers also saw sports as a safety mechanism; they as well emphasized the importance of staying away from drugs, alcohol, street gangs and other dangerous things one can find on the streets. At the same time teachers saw sport as an alternative way for education. Life skills, such as communication, discipline, confidence, leadership and teamwork were mentioned over and over again by teachers from Ikageng. This positive meaning could be pre-determined by a teacher’s background. Teachers might have heard about the educative power of sports during

their education, or they might emphasize the individual empowerment aspect because they are always concerned with the cognitive development of children.

What is the meaning of sports activities, as practiced by the Tshepong Aids Project, for parents, teachers and especially for children between eight and fifteen years of age in Ikageng? This is the central research question that has been explored throughout the research. As the question indicates, the findings of the research directly relate to the community of Ikageng and the Tshepong Aids Project in particular. A great deal of work still needs to be done in retrieving meanings on sports activities as part of development programmes throughout South Africa, and throughout the continent, or even the world. The meanings displayed in this thesis are true for only one community. This research had not the intention to generalize meanings; it therefore is not possible to say if the mentioned meanings account for all South African children, parents and teachers in marginalized communities. However, the research provides a useful illustration what kind of meanings certain groups in marginalized communities give to sports activities in combination with HIV awareness and might therefore be useful to similar projects in the field.

The findings of this report and the different meanings given to sports have certain implications for the Tshepong Aids Project. The fact that most of the interviewed youngsters only practiced sports at TAP and during physical education at school, implicates that TAP's sports activities have a right of existence. The number of active youngsters further strengthens this right of existence. A balance between training days and league days needs to be found; otherwise the project might lose a great deal of participants. The careless communication with the primary schools deserves attention. Schools indicate that TAP's volunteers are welcome, but that communication could be better. It is now time to make communications structural otherwise problems could evolve.

It was shocking to find out that most parents did not know the Tshepong Aids Project (they did know loveLife) and in what way HIV/AIDS awareness was related to their sports activities. Communications with parents of children from the primary schools should be established, informing them about goals and activities of TAP. This might result in more interest from the community for the project, which in turn might make the league days even more attractive. More supporters means more excitement, and more excitement means more action. These characteristics lead to a positive experience for the youngsters.

On the matter of HIV/AIDS awareness it should be noted that the findings do not suggest that the ABC-message is not working, without the ABC-message the HIV crisis would probably be even more dramatic. They merely suggest that such a particular message is more valid in combination with pleasuring activities, such as sporting, singing and dancing. There is still a large group though that is not acting on the principles of the ABC-message. Factors that explain this behaviour are numerous and debatable, but it can be stated that certain activities, like sports, give youth the ability to actively think about social relations and identities and to challenge traditional gender relations that place their health at risk. Peers (e.g. volunteers of TAP) have a high responsibility in this form of transition of identity and gender relations.

As stated in paragraph 3.2 sports programmes are one of the factors that facilitate integration, because they can help to reduce prejudice and build mutual acceptance, tolerance and understanding. These same positive consequences are highly important in the case of HIV/AIDS awareness as well. It helps to accept people living with HIV or AIDS and to avoid risk-behaviour. In the conclusion of Catherine Campbell's book 'Letting them die' an interesting sentence can be found:

The extent to which people have the ability to adopt new sexual behaviours and to safeguard their health is dramatically constrained by the degree to which social circumstances support or enable them in these challenges. (Campbell, 2003: 184)

Sports activities might be one of those social circumstances that support adolescents to adopt new sexual behaviour that does not place their health at risk. But for this to happen, they need to be activated. Without time to play sports, no physical development will set in. Without time active involvement in sports, no new social capital will be developed through sports activities. Without time to be active, no psychological empowerment due to these physical changes and social capital will be developed. Without being active in sports, gender relations will not be reconstructed through sports. So without being active, HIV awareness and therefore (sexual) behavioural changes will not set in. This means that children from primary schools in marginalized communities need to get time to play sports. They should not immediately be confronted with the dangers of risk-behaviour, then a project might lose them before it even had the chance to make the children aware of these dangers. They want excitement and fun. Those two elements, together with personal involvement in action and opportunities to establish and reaffirm friendships during games determine the success of a project that uses sports to realize its goals.

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Appendix 1

Topiclist

The questions of the topic lists are reminders for the researcher. Most of the time the interviews were more like a conversation where these questions were incorporated.

For Children

General information

- Name/ Age/ Gender
- Primary School

Sports general

- Which sports do you practice and why?
- Do you like it or not? Why?
- Would you like to practice other sports and why?
- Where do you practice sports?
- When do you practice sports, when would you like to practice sports?

Sports at TAP

- Why do you (not) take part in the sports activities at TAP?
- Do you enjoy TAP's sports activities? Why, or why not?

Closing of interview

For Parents

General information

- Name/ Age/ Gender
- Parent or caretaker/guardian?
- How many children do you have?

Sports general

- What does or did sport mean to you in your own life?
- Can you tell me something about the sports your child(ren) practice(s)?
- Which sports do they practice and why those?
- Do you stimulate them to practice sports and how?
- Do you think sport is important for a child and why?
- Can you tell me something about the sports facilities here in Ikageng? Are there enough?
- How does sport help in the development of a child to you?

Sports at TAP

- Can you tell me something about the Tshepong Aids Project and their activities?
- How is the contact between TAP's volunteers and you?
- Do you watch your child(ren) play sports at TAP?

Closing of interview

For Teachers

General information

- Name/ Age/ Gender
- Primary School

Sports general

- What does or did sport mean to you in your own life?
- In what way can sport contribute to the development of a child?

Sports at primary school

- What does this school do with sports?
- What sports facilities does this school have?

Sports at TAP

- Can you tell me something about the Tshepong Aids Project and their activities?
- How do you stimulate your learners to practice sports at TAP?
- How is the contact between TAP's volunteers and this school?
- Do you watch your learners play sports at TAP?

Closing of interview

Appendix 2

In this timeline data are taken down that were of special interest. Data that the researcher visited the organization for observations or meetings are not documented.

Timeline

10 February	Arrival in South Africa
19 February	Introduction at TAP Condom Launch
24 February	Observation of LAC Meeting, Potchefstroom
25 February	Observation of loveLife training camp, Venterskroon
8 March	First observation of TAP's sports trainings
9 March	Observation SAPS HIV/AIDS awareness sports day, Promosa
24 March	Introduction of advisors Tom and Jan Willem to the people of TAP
4 April	LoveLife workshop
5-8 April	4 Interviews with volunteers of TAP
11 April	Mpintshi meeting
12-14 April	5 Interviews with volunteers of TAP
15 April	First presentation, with further research plan
4 May	1 Interview with teacher from primary school
16 May	1 Interview with teacher from primary school
18 May	1 Interview with teacher from primary school
26 May	2 Interviews with teachers from primary schools 1 Interview with caretaker
31 May	1 Interview with teacher from primary school
1 June	9 Interviews with children
6 June	Visiting primary schools with head of sports
8 June	4 Interviews with parents
9 June	Interview with head of sports of TAP
10 June	1 Interview with caretaker
22 June	10 Interviews with children
24 June	Presentation of the results to manager and head of sports of TAP
1 July	Departure from South Africa